VOLUME XLI NUMBER 3

THE HARVARD THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

JULY 1948

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LONDON : GEOFFREY CUMBERLEGE
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
1948

Issued Quarterly $3.00 a Year Single Numbers $1.00

THE HARVARD THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

Issued quarterly by the Faculty of Divinity in Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts

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Remittances and communications on business matters should be addressed to the *Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.*

PUBLISHED BY THE
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
PUBLISHERS OF THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

LONDON: GEOFFREY CUMBERLEGE
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

Entered as second-class mail matter January 2, 1908, at the post-office at Boston, Mass. under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.
Acceptance for mailing at special postage rate provided for by Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on July 31, 1918.

HARVARD THEOLOGICAL REVIEW
VOLUME XLI JULY, 1948 NUMBER 3

CULTS OF THESSALONICA[1]

(MACEDONICA III[2])

CHARLES EDSON
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

THE site of ancient Thessalonica has been continuously inhabited as an important city ever since its foundation by the forceful Macedonian king, Cassander, in the last years of the fourth century before Christ.[3] Yet few ancient cities of equal importance have been the subject of so little investigation in modern times. Up to now, the inscriptions found in Salonica have all been chance discoveries, almost invariably due to such causes as the demolition of the old city walls during the last decades of the nineteenth and the early years of this century, the remodelling or removal of older buildings and other construction inevitable in the life of a large port and center of population. For these reasons it must be emphasized that the several hundred pagan Greek inscriptions of Thessalonica whose texts are now known (many of the stones once seen have been lost or destroyed) are in fact a quite fortuitous body of evidence. The following pages, therefore, cannot pretend to be a balanced and complete study of the religious cults of pagan Thessalonica. That is a task for the future when circumstances will, we must hope, permit a continuous and accurate study of the existing ancient remains, as well as of those new discoveries which may confidently be anticipated. Here I have only attempted to put together what can now be said about the cults of the Roman city. But a necessarily partial and inadequate view of isolated aspects of the religious life of the town may be of value, for it was

[1] I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professors Sterling Dow and A. D. Nock of Harvard University and Professor N. O. Brown of Connecticut Wesleyan University for suggestions and criticism.

[2] The first two articles in this series have appeared in the Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, LI (1940), pp. 125–36. In the second of these a correction is to be made: in n. 4 on p. 132 the paragraph beginning, "A festival in honor . . ." should be transposed to follow the citation in n. 2 on p. 133.

[3] For the relation of Thessalonica to Therme see Edson, Classical Philology, XLII (1947), pp. 100–104.

in Thessalonica that Paul established one of the earliest of the Christian congregations in Europe. The pagan religious environment within which the church of the "Thessalonians" came into being, even though our present knowledge of it can only be sporadic and haphazard, is, perhaps, of interest.

1. A Thiasos of Asiani.

The inscription here considered has been published only by P. N. Papageorgiou in Ἀλήθεια, a daily newspaper of Salonica, for 12 June 1904. It was found on 10 May of that year during the demolition of the eastern city wall to the north of the Kassandreotic (or Kalamari) Gate. The stone was seen by me on 28 March 1938; it acted then as the doorstep to the rear entrance of the private residence at 20 Odhos Konstantinou Melenikou. The rear entrance to this property is directly facing and across the street from the main entrance to the University of Salonica, for this portion of the Avenue Aminis, on the east side of which the University is situated, had at that time as yet received no buildings.

A stele or plaque of white marble, lying face up, — bottom broken away. Text in recessed panel. At top, incised pediment with acroteria. The inscribed surface is of course somewhat footworn. H. (max. ext.) 0.98; W. 0.62; Th. ca. 0.06; Top of stone to top of first line 0.465. H. of letters line 1. 0.05 to 0.055, lines 2f. 0.04 to 0.045; Vertical interspace ca. 0.02. Ligatures.

Photo: Fig. 1.

Μακεδόνι
Ἀσιανῶν ὁ θί
ασος τῷ συν
μύστῃ · ἱερητεύοντ
5. τος · Π · Αἰλίου
Ἀλεξάνδρου

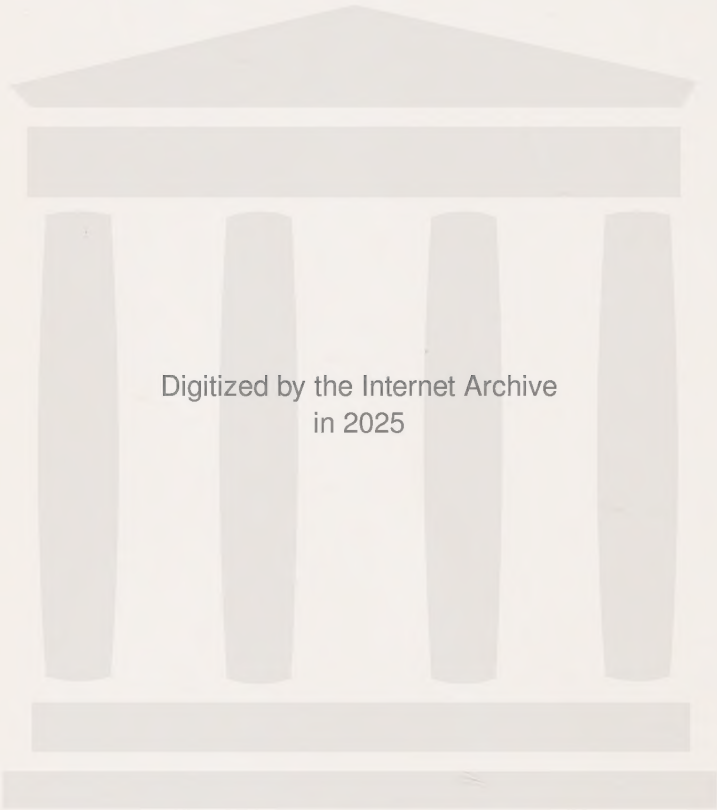
FIGURE NUMBER 1

"To Makedon, the thiasos of Asiani, to their fellow mystes, Publius Aelius Alexander being priest."

Though the proper name Μακεδών is attested for Anatolia in the Roman period,[1] it occurs, as one would expect, with very great

[1] See for example MAMA, IV, nos. 28 (Seulun) and 257 (Tymandos); VI, no.

FIGURE NUMBER 1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frequency in Macedonia.[2] Certainly is not possible, but we may, I believe, conclude on the basis of his name that Makedon was a native of Thessalonica and hence that the Asiani of Thessalonica did not limit membership in their thiasos to persons of Asianic origin.[3] The simple form of the name suggests, though it of course does not demand, that our document is to be dated before the Antonine Constitution of 212 A.D.

Poland gives the following instances of associations of Asiani:[4]

(a) Heraclea — Perinthus. 196–98 A.D. Lines 10–11: Μᾶρκος Ὧρου τὸν τελαμῶνα | τῷ Βακχείῳ Ἀσιανῶν. The officials of the society are an hieromnemon, an archimystes and an hiereus.[5]

(b) Kutlovica — Ferdanovo in Bulgaria.

τὸν Ζηνὸς Σεμέλης τε γλ[υ]κὺν [γό]νον ἀγλαόδωρον
Ληναῖον τέχνης ἰδίης ἱερεὺς Σατορνεῖνος
σὺν φιλίῃ ἀλόχῳ Μ[ά]γνῃ δῶρον πανάριστον
Ἀσιανῶν σπείρῃ [ἱ]ερατεύοντες ἔθηκαν.[6]

(c) Napoca in Dacia Porolissensis, today Cluj (formerly Klausenburg) in Roumania. A Latin inscription dated by the consuls of 235 A.D. It contains a list of names — nomina Asianorum, the first of which is: Germanus spirar[ch]aes. The deity is unnamed.[7]

The god of (a) and (b) is Dionysus. While the divinity of (c) is unnamed, it is to be noted that, like (b), the association is a "spira." This word, formerly employed chiefly as a military term,

259 (Acmonia); SEG, VII, nos. 117 (Cotiaeum), 168 (Temenothyrae), 347 (Kunderaz) and 426 (Iconium).

[2] See M. Dimitsas, ἡ Μακεδονία, Athens (1896), Index A sub voce.

[3] The spira of Asiani at Napoca in Dacia (CIL, III, no. 870) admitted natives; line 6 Dizo, line 10 Tzinta, line 13 Eptala, line 18 Tzinto. These are surely Dacian names.

[4] F. Poland, Geschichte des Griechischen Vereinswesen, Leipzig (1909), Index IV sub voce (p. 643). I have not attempted a thorough survey of the epigraphical material published since the date of Poland's book. No other examples of associations of Asiani are known to me.

[5] IGRR, I, no. 787 on pp. 257–58.

[6] H. Škorpil, "Antike Inschriften aus Bulgarien," AEMÖst, XVII (1894), no. 107 on p. 212; Antike Denkmäler in Bulgarien, Schriften der Balkankommision, Antiquarische Abteilung IV, Vienna (1906), no. 186 on cols. 166–67.

[7] CIL, III, no. 870, see above p. 7, n. 4. IG, XIV, no. 2540, from Malaca in Spain, seemingly attests a Σύρων τε κα[ὶ Ἀσια]νῶν κοινοῦ which honors its patron and [pros]tates. But this is apparently an association of Syrian and Asian (?) merchants. There is no indication of cult.

is used as a designation for cult societies only during the Empire and, to my knowledge, is limited all but exclusively to Dionysiac associations.[8]

The one striking exception to this generalization is IG, XII, 2, no. 511 from Methymna in Lesbos, as restored by Wilhelm in Öst. Jahresh., III (1900), p. 53: [Σα]ραπιαστα[ὶ]||[οἱ ἐ]παγγειλάμενοι καὶ εἰσενέγκαντες τ[ῇ]||[σ]πείρᾳ εἰς τὴν σύνοδον τῶν μεγάλων Σαρα|πιείων ὅπως εἰς πάντα τὸν χρόνον τοῖς Νει[λῴ]||οις συντελῶνται αἱ θυσίαι καθ' ἕκαστον ἐ|νιαυτόν. Wilhelm remarks, "Als Bezeichnung von Vereinen is σπεῖρα auch sonst bekannt." But not, so far as I know, for cult associations of the Egyptian gods. If Wilhelm's restoration of lines 2–3 be accepted, this is certainly the earliest, or one of the earliest, appearances of σπείρα as the name of a cult society, for this inscription is to be dated to about the beginning of the Christian era. I note, however, that his restoration in lines 2–3 violates the principle of syllabification. The "epigraphic text" printed by Paton on p. 107 of IG, XII, 2 shows that, if we adopt Wilhelm's text, we must read τ[ῇ σ]|πείρᾳ. Paton's text also indicates that only the upper horizontal bar of the tau at the end of line 2 is preserved; it therefore seems possible to read gamma, pi, sigma or epsilon as well as tau. I have no alternative to propose (π[έ]|πειρα or τ[ὰ πέ]|πειρα, "ripe fruits," whether in a literal or metaphorical sense, seems quite without parallel). Nevertheless, I am inclined to follow Paton and take ΠΕΙΡΑ at the beginning of line 3 as the remains of an accusative neuter plural acting as the object of εἰσενέγκαντες. In any case I regard it as very unlikely indeed that the Sarapiastai of Methyma called themselves a σπείρα.[9]

The title spirarches is perhaps associated with a religious society devoted to Attis at Philippi.[10]

It is, therefore, highly probable that the spira of Asiani at Napoca also worshipped Dionysus. The other two societies of Asiani were devoted to the god, and this is not surprising when one considers the dominant rôle played by Dionysus in the religious life of the province of Asia during the Hellenistic and, more particularly, the Roman periods.[11] As is the case with the spira at

[8] See Poland, op. cit., p. 153.

[9] Professor Nock observes that Wilhelm's restoration hardly motivates the ὅπως clause.

[10] P. Collart, Philippes: Ville de Macédoine [École française d' Athènes, Travaux et mémoires, Fascicule V], Paris (1937), pp. 455–56 and n. 1 on p. 456. See Addenda on p. 204.

[11] See W. Quandt, De Baccho ab Alexandri Aetate in Asia Minore culto, Halle (1912) [Dissertationes Philologicae Halenses, vol. XXI, pars 2], passim.

Napoca, the god of the thiasos of Asiani at Thessalonica is not named. Yet there can be little doubt that here too we are confronted with Dionysus. The word thiasos itself, though of course not limited to Dionysiac cult societies, is nevertheless used predominantly as the name for such associations.[12] Furthermore, the designation of Makedon as συνμύστης is particularly appropriate for the member of a Bacchic society.[13] And precisely the absence of the name of the association's god may be taken as strong negative evidence that it was in fact Dionysus; a thiasos devoted, for example, to the worship of the Egyptian or Samothracian gods (popular as these last were in central and eastern Macedonia in the Roman period) would have been less likely to omit the name of their deity. In the case of a thiasos of Dionysus this omission is more readily understandable.

The chief official of the society was evidently the priest. His name, P. Aelius Alexander, shows that our document is to be dated not earlier than the reign of Hadrian. The letter forms and the physical appearance of the stone are compatible with the last half of the second or the early years of the third century. In spite of the absence of the funerary formula, it is clear that this is a gravestone for the dead Makedon. Since the priest is a Roman citizen (the possibility that he was a freedman cannot be excluded), the social standing of some at least of the members of the thiasos was more than that of laborers or small tradesmen. This is supported by the physical appearance of the monument, which is carefully worked. (As so often, ligatures are employed for aesthetic reasons, not to save space.) We may conclude that the Asiani of Thessalonica were something more than a mere collegium tenuiorum whose chief function was the proper burial of its members.

The known associations of Asiani are limited to a definite region, the Balkan area in the larger sense.[14] This is of some interest. The Balkan and lower Danubian hinterlands were first

[12] Poland, op. cit., p. 24: "Doch bleibt das Wort bei seiner Grundbedeutung namentlich für bakchische Vereine in Brauch . . ."

[13] For mystai see Poland, op. cit., pp. 36–40. For Bacchic societies in Asia Minor cf. Poland, pp. 198–200 (p. 198 "— so beherrscht offenbar geradezu Dionysos das Vereinsleben Kleinasiens. Freilich muss man beachten, dass es sich in allen diesen Kollegien um Mysten handelt."), and Quandt, op. cit., pp. 241–49.

[14] Heraclea — Perinthus, Thessalonica, Kutlovica — Ferdanovo and Napoca.

effectively opened to Graeco-Roman civilization by the advance of the Roman Empire into these regions at the beginning of our era. The propinquity of these rich and undeveloped lands would naturally attract tradesmen, merchants and professional persons of all kinds from the prosperous cities of Asia.[15] It is understandable that such individuals should form cult societies composed, initially at least, of persons from their own province and devoted to the worship of the most popular god of their homeland. With the passage of time it would be natural that natives of the regions in which they resided should be admitted to membership. One need only recall that Dionysus worship was indigenous in most of the Balkan area.[16]

2. The Cult of Dionysus.

The Church of the Παναγία ἡ ἀχειροποιητός, under Turkish rule the mosque Eski Cuma, is one of the oldest churches of Salonica, as the careful researches of O. Tafrali have shown.[1] Its construction is to be dated to the turn of the fourth to fifth centuries.[2] In modern Salonica the church is situated on the southeast side of the Odhos Ayias Sofias, a short distance northeast of the Via Egnatia. As is natural for so old a structure, the floor level of the church is now several meters below the ground level of the modern city. To the southwest of the church proper is an area enclosed by retaining walls which more or less preserves the ancient level. Within this area one could, in the spring of 1938, observe the upper surface of a marble bomos which was otherwise embedded in the earth. In April 1938, through the kindness of Professor Nikolaos Kotzias, Ephor of Antiquities for Macedonia and Thrace, I was permitted to have the face of the altar cleared.[3]

[15] See now E. Gren, Kleinasien und der Ostbalkan in der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung der römischen Kaiserzeit, Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1941: 9, pp. xl 172.

[16] The Asiani very probably appear in a damaged text on a funerary bomos discovered in Salonica during the recent war. See B. Kallipolitis and D. Lazaridis, Ἀρχαῖαι Ἐπιγραφαὶ Θεσσαλονίκης [Γεν. Διοίκησις Μακεδονίας, Διεύθυνσις Ἱστορ. Μνημείων καὶ Ἀρχαιολογίας], Thessaloniki (1946), no. 10 on pp. 38–9, where at the beginning of line 2 I read]Ἀσια[ν]ῶν.

[1] Topographie de Thessalonique, Paris (1913), pp. 160–65.

[2] Tafrali, op. cit., pp. 149–55. His argument based on the stamped bricks used in common for the construction of the church and of the Theodosian city wall is decisive.

[3] In the last days of 1944 I was again in Salonica and again visited the "Eski

FIGURE NUMBER 2

FIGURE NUMBER 3

A large funerary bomos of local marble with a circular incision on the top, presumably for the insertion of an ostotheke. On the upper front is an incised pediment with acroteria. Lines 1 to 11 of the text are inscribed in a central panel, line 12 is beneath the panel and above the mouldings of the base. Save for the lower left front corner, which is broken away, and the top edges and surface, which were exposed to wear, the stone is in a remarkably excellent state of preservation. Since the base of the altar is at, or beneath, the floor level of the church, I regard it as very possible that the bomos is in situ or at least very near its original position.

H. ca. 1.20; W. (at top) 0.58; Th. (at top) 0.55. Top of stone to top of first line 0.40. H. of letters 0.02 to 0.025. Vertical interspace 0.01 to 0.015, lines 11 to 12 0.125. Ligatures.

Photos: Figs. 2 and 3.

Ἀρτέμειν Μάρκου
ἡ γυνὴ καὶ . Ἰ . σίδωρος
Ἰσιδώρου καὶ . Ἰουνία
Ἰσιδώρου Ἰσιδώρῳ
Σαβείνου τῷ πατρὶ
ζήσαντι καλῶς βου
λεύσαντι . ἱερασαμέ
νῳ θιάσων Διονύσου
ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου ἐκεί
νῳ μνείας καὶ εὐνοί
ας χάριν
Moulding
ἐν τῷ . ζντ . ἔτει

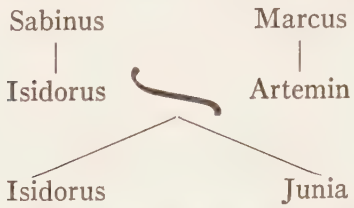
Figure Numbers 2 and 3

"Artemin, the daughter of Marcus, his wife, and Isidorus, the son of Isidorus, and Junia, the daughter of Isidorus, to Isidorus, son of Sabinus, their father, who has lived well and has been a member of the Municipal Council as well as priest of thiasoi of Dionysus, — from his own money to him for the sake of memory and of benevolence.

"In the three hundred and fifty-seventh year."

Fortunately the document is dated, — to the 357th year of what can only be the Provincial Era beginning in 148 B.C., thus 209 A.D. The stemma is:

Cuma." A portion of the open area southwest of the church has been filled in directly over the former location of the altar, which is therefore presumably no longer accessible.



The defunct, Isidore, son of Sabinus, had been a member of the municipal council, a curialis. His cursus honorum as given in his epitaph is modest, and it is possibly significant for the economic status of his family that he was commemorated by a funerary bomos rather than by a much more expensive sarcophagus. Isidore was a minor member of the local oligarchy. The only interesting information contained in the document is the statement that he had been priest of two or more thiasoi of Dionysus, whether simultaneously or successively does not appear.

As one would expect in a city of the Thraco-Macedonian region, the cult of Dionysus in Thessalonica is early. One of the tribes of the city, which were surely created by Cassander at the time of the original synoikismos, is the *φυλὴ Διοννσιάς*.[4] Dionysus appears on the Hellenistic coinage of Thessalonica which begins, according to Gaebler, in 187 B.C.[5] A state cult of the god is attested epigraphically for the late Hellenistic [6] period.[7]

[4] Duchesne, Mémoire sur une mission au Mont Athos [Bibliothèque des écoles francaises d' Athènes et de Rome], Paris (1876), no. 6 on pp. 16 ff. (M. Dimitsas, *ἡ Μακεδονία*, Athens [1896], no. 379 on p. 439; all inscriptions reprinted by Dimitsas will hereafter be cited in the following manner: [D. 379 (439)]), — an honorary bomos found at the Golden (or Vardar) Gate, the entrance of the Via Egnatia into Thessalonica from the west (see below p. 198 ff.), in which the tribe Dionysias honors the local magnate Claudius Meno, a prominent personage during the age of the Severi (see below p. 194 ff.). In a companion altar found at the same place (Duchesne, op. cit., no. 5 on p. 16 [D. 378 (438)]) the same individual is honored by the *φυλὴ Ἀντιγονίς*. The creation of the tribe Antigonis must of course be dated into the early third century B.C., to the period when Antigonus II gained permanent control of Macedonia (cf. M. Holleaux, Etudes d'épigraphie et d' histoire grecques, III, Paris [1942], p. 248, n. 4). Since an early Hellenistic date is thus certain for one of the tribes of Thessalonica, it follows that the two other known tribes of the city, Dionysias and Asclepias (P. N. Papageorgiou, *Ἀλήθεια*, 7 October 1906, no. 39 on p. 1 [now inv. no. 1776 in the Salonica Museum]; Duchesne, op. cit., no. 4 on p. 16 [D. 377 (438)]), are also early, for the tribal organization of the city of necessity accompanied its synoikismos by Cassander.

[5] H. Gaebler, Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands, III, Die antiken Münzen von Makedonia und Paionia, 2^te^ Abteilung, Berlin (1935), nos. 1 (p. 117), 9 (p. 119) and 15 (p. 120). Dionysus is apparently absent from the coinage of the city in the Roman period.

The earliest mention of a priest of Dionysus in Thessalonica is in an epitaph of the Roman period found, according to Heuzey,[8] "dans les fondations d'une maison du quartier juif" and whose provenience has been more specifically indicated by Duchesne[9] as "dans une maison particulière, près d' Eski-Djoumma."[10] The

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[6] In this series I use the terms "early Hellenistic" for the period from the death of Alexander to the fall of the monarchy (323–168 B.C.), "late Hellenistic" for the period of rule by the Roman Republic (168–32 B.C., and "Roman" for the age of the Empire (32 B.C.–284 A.D.).

[7] S. Pelekides, *Ἀπὸ τὴν πολιτεία καὶ τὴν κοινωνία τῆς ἀρχαίας Θεσσαλονίκης, Παράρτημα τοῦ δευτέρου τόμου τῆς ἐπιστημονικῆς ἐπετηρίδος τῆς φιλοσοφικῆς σχολῆς* 1933, *ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ*, 1934 [cited hereafter simply as: Pelekides], no. 1 on p. 25, now inv. no. 860 in the Salonica Museum: *ἡ πόλις | Διονύσωι | πολιταρχούντων | Ἀριστάνδρου τοῦ Ἀριστόνου | Ἀντιμάχου τοῦ Ἀριστοξένου*. This large inscribed base was found built into a Roman wall near the Sarapeum in the western section of the city; it was therefore not in situ. It is on the whole unlikely that so large a base would have been transported any great distance for use as building material, and it seems probable that this dedication was set up originally in the western part of the city.

Pelekides (p. 25 ff.) has used this and a similar dedication (inv. no. 859) as evidence for the existence of politarchs in Thessalonica before the Roman conquest of Macedonia. But his argument, which is based exclusively on letter forms, has no force. The letter forms of inv. no. 859 are quite suitable to the last half of the second or even to the early years of the first century B.C. Inv. no. 860 is a shocking example of stonecutting, actually almost as much a graffito as a true inscription. There is nothing whatever about the letter forms (broken barred alpha) which demands, or even suggests, a date before 167 B.C. From the technical epigraphical point of view, the salient characteristic of this monument is its slovenly workmanship, truly remarkable in an official dedication by the polis. It strongly suggests that the city was not well off, or at least that its morale was so slow that it took no pride in the appearance of such a dedication, and fits best into the unhappy period from the last quarter of the second down into the first century B.C. during which Macedonia had to suffer repeated barbarian invasions as well as the other aspects of Roman misgovernment. These two inscriptions contribute nothing towards solving the problem of the date for the creation of the politarchate in the cities of Macedonia.

[8] L. Heuzey, Mission archéologique de Macédoine, Paris (1876), vol. I, no. 113 on p. 280 [D. 386 (444)].

[9] Op. cit., no. 59 on p. 43.

[10] There is no reason to assume that this large bomos had been moved in the period between the visits of Heuzey and Duchesne to Salonica. Heuzey saw the stone together with two other large bomoi (his nos. 114 and 115 [D. 387 (445) and 388 (446)]) and these three stones were also seen together by Duchesne (nos. 59, 63 and 71) plus another (no. 74 [D. 431 (472)]) not published by Heuzey. It is highly improbable that all three of these large bomoi were moved from one house to another. It seems clear that Heuzey and Duchesne refer to the same house. Mordtmann (Ath. Mitt., XVI [1891], p. 366), in a somewhat cryptic parenthesis, states that Duchesne's nos. 59, 71 and 74 were dug up near the Kassandreotic (Kalamari) Gate in 1887. Possibly, therefore, they had been removed from the house and found their way underground some time after Duchesne saw them. But Mordtmann's observations are not always correct; cf. for example, his suggestion

altar still exists and in inv. no. 1813 in the Salonica Museum. Though this inscription has recently been republished by Robert with a photograph of the inscribed face,[11] a new examination of the monument is, for our purposes, necessary.

Large bomos of local marble. No cutting shows on the preserved top surface. All projecting mouldings on the front and right side have been cut away; the mouldings on the left side have been broken away and the entire upper left edge has been hacked off. The stone has clearly been treated for re-use as a building block.

H. 1.53; W. (max. ext. at top) 0.78; Th. (max. ext. at top) 0.61. Top of stone to top of first line 0.53. H. of letters line 1 0.035, line 2 0.03, lines 3 to 11 0.025; Vertical interspace ca. 0.01. The text is in a panel surrounded by a moulding. In lines 1 to 5 the letter forms are conventional, in lines 6 to 11 lunate. There are no ligatures.

ἔτους · δξρ · Ἀπολλω
νίῳ · Ἀρτεμᾶ · τῷ · καὶ Μα
ξίμῳ Θεσσαλονικεῖ
Εὔτυχος · Μαξίμου · καὶ'
καὶ Σεκοῦνδα · οἱ θρεπτοὶ
τὸν βωμὸν μνείας χά
ριν · ὑδροσκοπήσαντα
καὶ ἱερητεύσαντα · Διονύ
σου · καὶ ἑτέρας ὑπηρεσί
ας ὑπηρετήσαντα · ζή
σαντα ἔτη υυυ νζ υυυ

"In the one hundred and sixty-fourth year.

"For Apollonius, son of Artemas, who is also called Maximus, a Thessalonicean, Eutychus, son of Maximus, and Secunda his wards (erected) the altar for the sake of memory, (for him) who has been hydroscopus and priest of Dionysus, and has performed other services. He lived fifty-seven years."

Line 1: The date is the 164th year of what must be the Augustan Era beginning in 32 B.C., for the letter forms and the nature of the monument exclude a dating by the Provincial Era of 148 B.C.[12] The date is 132 A.D.

(op. cit., p. 368) that Duchesne's inscription no. 62 [D. 408 (461)] had been destroyed; this stone is now inv. no. 1764 in the Salonica Museum.

[11] Rev. de Philol., XIII (1939), pp. 128–31 and Pl. II at end.

[12] So Robert, op. cit., pp. 129–30. His arguments are decisive.

Line 3: The ethnic is perhaps a little surprising, but I do not at all feel that it forces us to conclude that we have to do with a private cult of Dionysus. (Cf. Dumont, BCH, VIII (1884), no. 2 on pp. 462–64 [D. 596 (524)], wherein the epimeletes of the *συνήθε*[*ις*] *τοῦ Ἡρακλέ*[*ους*] is *Πύθωνος Λοκιλίας Θεσσαλονικέο*[*ς*], of course a private society).[13]

Line 5: For *θρεπτοί* see now A. Cameron, "ΘΡΕΠΤΟΣ and Related Terms in the Inscriptions of Asia Minor," Anatolian Studies Presented to William Hepburn Buckler, Manchester (1939), pp. 27–62.

Lines 6 ff.: The change of letter forms, though not unparalleled, is surprising and probably has some connection with the grammatical error which puts the aorist participles in the accusative in agreement with *βωμόν* instead of in the dative with *Ἀπολλωνίῳ*! The hand throughout, however, is clearly the same. Possibly the stonecutter was interrupted and returned to his work after some time had passed. Such a series of participles is much more common in honorary than in funerary texts, and in the former the participles are, of course, usually in the accusative. This can have contributed to the error.

Line 7: With Baege [14] and Robert [15] we must conclude that Apollonius' activity as an hydroskopos was *not* that of a simple water diviner but was a specifically religious function, the exact nature of which the succinct text does not permit us to penetrate, but which proceeded in one of the ways Robert mentions, "par l'examen de l'agitation de l'eau ou de son bruit, ou par des objets jétés dans l'eau, ou d'après ce qu'ils voyaient dans l'eau comme dans une miroir." [16] Moreover, Baege is unquestionably correct in holding that the post of hydroskopos was connected with the cult of Dionysus [17] and that it possibly took precedence over, that is, was more distinguished (and more costly?) than the priesthood.[18] The "other services" which Apollonius performed are not

[13] It is possible, as Professor Nock suggests, that Apollonius may have been granted citizenship in Thessalonica.

[14] Wernerus Baege, De Macedonum Sacris (Diss. Phil. Hal., XXII [1913]), p. 91.

[15] Loc. cit., pp. 130–31.

[16] So Baege, loc. cit.: *ὑδροσκοπία* igitur sacrum fuit aliquod negotium, quod maxime administravit Apollonius sive aquas indagans ut dei signum lavarent, sive alias agens caeremonias.

[17] Note that the phrase *ὑδροσκοπήσαντα καὶ ἱερητεύσαντα* is set off by puncts but that there are no puncts within the phrase itself. This definitely supports Baege's view.

[18] Baege, loc. cit.: mirum quoddam videtur, quod aquarum speculatoris munus cum Baccho coniunctum est. *sed ordine verborum adducimur* (italics mine), ne

specified, but this very indefiniteness indicates that they too were connected with the cult of Dionysus.

There is every reason to assume that a state priesthood of Dionysus existed in Thessalonica from the time of the founding of the city by Cassander. But that the function of hydroskopos was associated with the municipal cult of the god by the first half of the second century of our era and perhaps took precedence over the priesthood itself of Dionysus [19] is striking.

There seems to be only one other instance of this cult ὑδροσκοπία known and that too in Macedonia. Robert has published an altar found at Stavros,[20] a village on the Verria — Salonica road approximately ten kilometers from Verria, which is dedicated to the metropolis and twice neokoros Beroea by one Aurelius Romanus, ὑδροσκοπήσας ἐν τῷ βπσ Σεβαστῷ ἔτει, i.e. 260/1 A.D. The phraseology suggests that Romanus' position as hydroskopos was of some local distinction and also that it was an office or priesthood of the city of Beroea. It seems permissible to suggest, on the basis of the epitaph for Apollonius in Thessalonica, that the hydroskopos in Beroea was also connected with the cult of Dionysus. So far it appears that this Dionysiac hydroskopia is peculiar to Macedonia;[21] as yet it is attested only for the Roman period. One recalls the curious practice at Argos, where Dionysus was called up out of the water by trumpets.[22]

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quod profanum officium hoc ὑδροσκοπεῖν fuisse arbitremur; sine dubio enim Eutychus et Secunda dixissent ἱερητεύσαντα Διονύσου καὶ ὑδροσκοπήσαντα καὶ ἑτέρας ὑπ., si intellegere voluissent sacerdotium, qui speculabatur in communi use rimabaturque, ubi aquae laterent, et qui aliis muneribus fungebatur, neque sacerdotis inter profana posuissent officia. . . . *secundo loco* (italics mine) Maximus et sacerdotis oficiis fungebatur et alias denique templi servorum partes suscipiebat.

[19] Very possibly the posts of hydroskopos and priest were held jointly, but the point is that the hydroskopos is listed first, in what is ordinarily the position of distinction.

[20] Loc. cit. Robert remarks, "Le titre ὑδροσκοπήσας ne revient, je crois, que dans une autre inscription, qui est précisément de la même région," and then discusses the epitaph of Apollonius. In view of Robert's unrivalled knowledge of epigraphic evidence, this is as near an absolute negative so far as regions outside Macedonia are concerned as can, in the nature of things, be expected.

In late May of 1945 while driving from Larissa to Salonica I chanced to notice this and another bomos standing in front of the schoolhouse at Stavros. A local resident informed me that the stone had been found before the Balkan Wars by a Turkish landowner in the course of making repairs on a mosque near Stavros.

[21] Boehm's article "Hydromanteia" in RE, IX, cols. 79 ff. has no reference to Dionysus.

[22] Plutarch, De Isid. et Osir., 35 [364 F]: Ἀργείοις δὲ βουγενὴς Διόνυσος ἐπίκλην

The only other certain epigraphic evidence for the cult of Dionysus in Thessalonica is the famous "testament of a Thessalonicean priestess." Though this text has been published and commented upon more often than any other inscription of Thessalonica (Ziebarth in 1921 could say that it had given rise to "eine kleine Literatur"),[23] it is an odd fact that a complete and accurate text has never been published. Hence a new edition of this interesting document seems amply justified.

The inscription was first copied by J.-B. Germain, Chancellor of the French Consulate at Salonica from 1745 to 1748, but his copy was not printed until 1894.[24] Germain's description runs: "Dans la mosquée appellée *Eski Djuma*, autrefois la Panagia par les Grecs. Ce pied d' estal est à quatre faces; il est enterré jusqu'à la 12e ligne d'écriture, à coté d'une colonne, en face de la grande porte, à gauche. — On découvre, à une autre face [the front] de ce pied d'estal, deux lignes d'écriture ainsy (see below p. 173); le reste de l'inscription est tout mutilé." Germain provides only a poor copy of the inscribed left side. He does, however, give us the earliest transcript of the now all but completely effaced text on the face of the monument. Duchesne, who visited Salonica early in 1874, made a partial transcript of the right and left sides of the stone. He describes it as follows:[25] "Ce texte se lit sur deux faces opposées d'un cippe carrée, dans la mosqué Eski-Djuma. Il est enterrée au tiers de sa hauteur; aussi les dernières lignes de chaque colonne font défaut. De plus, comme il se trouve placé dans un endroit très-obscur, la lecture est fort difficile et doit se faire autant avec les doigts qu'avec les yeux. Il reste donc beaucoup d' incertitude même sur la partie que nous avons pu transcrire en contrôlant sur place nos copies l'une par l'autre et en recourant plusieurs fois au monument." Duchesne read the first eight lines of the right side (not copied by Germain) with part of line 9 and gave a greatly superior text of the left side of the stone down to line 13 of that side; he did not detect the worn inscription on the face, which

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ἐστίν· ἀνεκαλοῦντο δ' αὐτὸν ὑπὸ σαλπίγγων ἐξ ὕδατος, ἐμβάλλοντες ἐς τὴν ἄβυσσον ἄρνα τῷ Πυλαόχῳ. *τὰς δὲ σάλπιγγας ἐν θύρσοις ἀποκρύπτουσιν, ὡς Σωκράτης ἐν τοῖς περὶ 'Οσίων εἴρηκεν.* The inscription of Rhodes from the reign of Caracalla (Öst. Jahresh., VII [1904], p. 92; whence Quandt, De Baccho etc., p. 204) in which a water-organist is mentioned as "raising" Dionysus (*δόντα δὲ καὶ τῷ ὑδραύλῃ τῷ ἐπεγείροντι [τὸ]ν θεὸν*) is hardly pertinent.

[23] Bursian, CLXXXIX (1921), 3te Abteilung, p. 29.

[24] H. Omont, "Inscriptions grecques de Salonique recueilles au xviiie siècle par J.-B. Germain," Rev. Arch, Third Series, XXIV (January–June, 1894), pp. 196–214; no. 23 on p. 209 [D. 729 (595)].

[25] Duchesne, op. cit., no. 44 on p. 34 [D. 396 (449)].

had presumably suffered further deterioration in the 130 years since it had been copied by Germain. For over a generation the study of the inscription was necessarily based on Duchesne's text. On 5 August 1901 Paul Perdrizet, armed with a "lettre vizirielle," was able to have the stone temporarily removed and to copy the text,[26] but he did not publish an edition of the inscription.[27] In the same year P. N. Papageorgiou published a four page brochure containing an edition of the inscription.[28] Papageorgiou gave a text of the face and of the two sides, complete, but, since it is evident that it was only possible for him to study the exposed stone between noon and 2 P.M. on 5 August 1901,[29] his text, particularly of the face, must be viewed with considerable reserve. By 1912 the bomos had been removed from the Eski Cuma and placed in the collection of antiquities preserved at the Lycée Sultanieh of Salonica. There it was seen by Charles Avezou and Charles Picard, who published a new edition of the text.[30] Avezou and Picard attempted to read the traces of the text on the face of the stone, but for the remainder of the text they used, for the right side, that of Perdrizet [31] and Papageorgiou [32] and, for the left side, a text published by Perdrizet from a transcript made before the stone had been exposed for study and which unfortunately omitted the last six lines.[33] Avezou and Picard controlled the text of the right side against the stone, but that of the left side did not seriously engage their attention.

Fortunately the monument still exists and is inv. no. 1767 of the Salonica Museum.

A marble bomos, — the top has been hollowed out to act as a receptacle. The projecting mouldings on the left side have been largely,

[26] P. Perdrizet, Cultes et Mythes du Pangée, Annales de l' Est, 24e Année — Fasc. 1, Paris and Nancy (1910), p. 87, n. 4.

[27] In op. cit., p. 88, n. 1 Perdrizet gives the text (without line divisions) of the right side of the stone through line 8 and the complete text of the left side.

[28] Die Ἱέρεια — θύσα — Inschrift von Saloniki, herausgegeben von Petros N. Papageorgiu, Triest [actually Salonica], 1901.

[29] For the circumstances, see Perdrizet, op. cit., p. 87, n. 4. But Papageorgiou had certainly studied the monument at an earlier time since his text of the inscription on the face, as well as most (not all) of the two sides, had already been published in Ἀθηνᾶ, XII (1900), p. 87. I have not seen his edition published in the newspaper Νέα Ἡμέρα of Trieste, 30 July 1899, φύλλος 1287, or in the Λεξικὸς Ἔρανος, Trieste, 1899, p. 13; cf. Phil. Woch, XXII (1902), col. 660. The important point is that Papageorgiou's text of the face quite certainly owes nothing to his examination of the stone during the short period of time in which it was exposed.

[30] Ch. Picard and Ch. Avezou, "Le testament de la prêtresse Thessalonicienne," BCH, XXXVIII (1914), pp. 38–62.

[31] BCH, XXIV (1900), p. 322, B and Cultes et mythes, p. 88, n. 1.

[32] See above, n. 28.

[33] BCH, XXIV (1900), p. 322, C.

FIGURE NUMBER 4

FIGURE NUMBER 5

though not completely, cut away. The back is roughly finished. It is apparent that the bomos was first set in position in the floor of the mosque and that the surface of the exposed upper three fifths of the stone was then somewhat reworked, the visible portion of the relief on the face being at that time completely removed. H. 1.53; W. (max.) 0.60; Th. (max.) 0.58.

Front: In a central panel was a relief of a standing draped woman, facing front, the upper two fifths of which have been cut away. Photo: Fig. 4. The text was inscribed on the face beneath the upper moulding and above the frame of the central panel. The letters have been almost completely obliterated. For reasons which will become apparent, it is preferable to defer the discussion of this text until the well preserved texts on the sides have been considered (see below pp. 172–5). Here it need only be stated that this text consisted of two lines.

Sides: There is an inscribed surface surrounded by a moulding on each side of the altar. The distance from the top of the stone to the top of the first line on each side is approximately 0.49. On the right side the H. of letters is 0.02 to 0.03 and the vertical interspace 0.005 to 0.02; on the left side the letters run from 0.015 to 0.025 and the interspace from 0.005 to 0.015. This difference is due to the fact that there are 19 lines of text on the left side as against 13 on the right. The rather carelessly cut letters are lunate; there are no ligatures. Lines were not ruled, and hence there is a tendency, particularly on the left side, for the lines to slope upwards. The principle of syllabification is observed throughout. Photo of left side: Fig. 5.[34]

	Right Side		Left Side
	ἱέρεια οὖσα		⟨φερέτωσαν δὲ⟩
	Εὐεία Πρινο		καὶ οἱ μύστε
5.	φόρου κατα		μικρὸς μέ
	λίπω εἰς μνί		γας ἑκαστὸς
(5.)	ας χάριν αἰω		στέφανον ῥό
	νίας ἀνπέλων	(5.)20.	δινον. ὁ δὲ μὴ ἐ
	πλέθρα δύω		νένκας μὴ μετε
10.	σὺν τῆς τάφροις,		χέτω μου τῆς
	ὅπως ἀπο		δωρεᾶς. αἰὰν
(10.)	κέηταί μοι		δὲ μὴ ποιήσω
	ἀπὸ ἀγο	(10.)25.	σιν, εἶνε αὐτὰ

[34] The position of the bomos in the yard of the Museum — it is placed close to another large bomos — made it impossible to take an adequate photograph of the right side.

ρᾶς μὴ ἔλα τοῦ Δροιοφό
15. τον * ϵ′. leaf ρων θειάσου ἐ
πὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς
προστίμοις.
(15.)30. εἰ δὲ μὴ ὁ ἕ
τερος θίασος
ποιῇ, εἶναι αὐ
τὰ τῆς πόλε
ως. leaf

Line 3: Avezou and Picard (op. cit., p. 42 ff.) read correctly οὖσα instead of the Θύσα of the previous editors and thus put an end to a long series of speculations based on the false reading.[35]

Line 4: Εὐεία (i.e. Εὐΐα) is of course the feminine of Εὔϊος, the well known epithet of Dionysus.[36] But here we are probably to take it rather as the feminine of Εὔϊος in the sense of βάκχος (Euripides, Bacchae, lines 566 and 579) or even simply as an adjective: "Evian priestess." Πρινοφόρος is quite evidently the Dionysus who was the particular deity of the priestess' thiasos. Cult epithets of Dionysus which have to do with plants or with plant life are numerous, well known and need not be adduced here. Reference may be made to Farnell, Cults of the Greek States, vol. V, p. 489 and Kern, RE, V, cols. 1026–34. This cult name is compounded with — φόρος. Such Dionysiac cult epithets are known, for example, Ἀκρατοφόρος, but the nearest parallel is Dionysus Θυλλοφόρος, the "Leaf-bearer," epigraphically attested at Cos (Paton and Hicks, Inscriptions of Cos, no. 27 on p. 45 ff.; Ditt., Syll.,[3] no. 1012).

Lines 7–9: A fragmentary inscription of Edessa, dated to the year 241 A.D., is concerned with a grant of two plethra of vineyard to θεὰ ἀνίκητος Μᾶ.[37] A Latin inscription of similar content found near Philippi (CIL, III, no. 656) has: item vicanis Media [nis eadem] condicione ex fundo Psychiano vinearum pl[ethra . . .]

[35] See their discussion. An abrasion on the surface of the stone within the sphere of the omicron undoubtedly caused the earlier editors, who saw the stone under much more difficult circumstances, to read theta.

[36] See LSJ, sub voce; Jessen in RE, VI, cols. 992–93.

[37] P. N. Papageorgiou, Ἀθηνᾶ, XII (1900), no. 10 on p. 73, as restored and interpreted by A. Cameron, Harv. Theol. Rev., XXXII (1939), p. 143 ff.

A rupestrian inscription in the southeast foothills of Pangaeum near the village Tritta (formerly Čiftlik) mentions a *θεᾶς Ἀλμωπίας ἄμπελος*.[38]

Line 10: These are irrigation ditches which the testatrix specifically includes in her bequest.

Lines 11–12: *ἀποκέηται*, i.e. *ἀποκαίηται*, correctly read and interpreted by Avezou and Picard (op. cit., pp. 47 ff.). The objects to be burned in the commemoratory sacrifice are not here mentioned,[39] but from lines 19–20 it appears that they were crowns made from the roses for which Macedonia was famous.[40] For the practice of burning roses at the graves of the dead see the excellent discussions by Avezou and Picard (loc. cit.) and by Collart.[41]

Lines 13–15: The income from the sale of the produce of the vineyard is to be used to pay for the offerings, i.e. the rose wreaths, to a cost of not less than five denarii. Even in this ill expressed document, it is remarkable that no interval of time is stated; presumably it was once a year. Nor is there any indication of the place where the rite was to be performed. Avezou and Picard (op. cit., p. 50) remark, "Faible contribution, et pourtant elle est en proportion avec la donation." But, without knowing the number of persons in the thiasos, the price of grapes or wine, the quality of the vineyard or the cost of rose wreaths, it is impossible to judge. The irrigation ditches in all probability added to the value of the property.

Lines 16–20: A main verb is wanting in this sentence and must be restored.

Lines 17–19: Children as well as adults seem to be included among the mystai,[42] but I doubt that here the phrase is necessarily much

[38] G. Bakalakis, "Περὶ Ἀλμώπων καὶ Ἀλμωπίας Θεᾶς," *Πρακτικά*, XII (1937), pp. 484–88. I have not seen Collart's article, "La vigne de la déesse Almolpienne au Pangée," Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde [Festband Felix Stähelin], 1943, pp. 9–21.

[39] See Collart, Philippes, p. 484, n. 5.

[40] Theophrastus, de Causis Plant., I, 13, 11 (at Dion in Pieria); Hist. Plant., VI, 6, 4. (Pangaeum and the Philippi region); Herodotus, VIII, 138, 2 (below the eastern slopes of the Bermion range).

[41] Op. cit., pp. 474–85.

[42] So Perdrizet, Cultes et mythes, p. 88, n. 1 ("Pour les mots *μικρὸς μέγας*, se rappeler les reliefs votifs et funéraires, où l'on voit les enfants s'approcher de

more than a forceful expression for "all." Cf. Acts, xxvi, 22; *ἕστηκα μαρτυρόμενος μικρῷ τε καὶ μεγάλῳ.*

Lines 20–23: Any mystes who is not present at the ceremony bearing a crown of roses is to have no share in whatever income there may be from the vineyard after the fixed charge of five denarii has been deducted. The cost of the crowns was paid by the five denarii. What the testatrix desires is the presence of her fellow mystai at the ceremony and their active participation therein.

Lines 23–29: If the thiasos does not carry out the terms of the bequest, the vineyard is then to go to the thiasos of the *Δρυοφόροι* on the same terms.

Lines 26–27: For *Δρυοφόροι* cf. Euripides, Bacchae, lines 109–10:[43] *καὶ καταβακχιοῦσθε δρυὸς | ἢ ἐλάτας κλάδοισι*, and lines 1103–4: *τέλος δὲ δρυΐνους συγκεραυνοῦσαι κλάδους | ῥίζας ἀνεσπάρασσον ἀσιδήροις μοχλοῖς*; compare also lines 685 and 703.[43a]

Lines 30–34: If in turn the Dryophoroi do not fulfill the terms of the bequest, the vineyard then becomes the property of the city.

The orthography and language of the text show the characteristics of late Greek, but there is no real difficulty of interpretation, although the terms of the bequest are by no means well or clearly expressed. I translate and paraphrase:

"— being priestess Evia of Prinophoros, I bequeath for the perpetuation of my memory two plethra of vineyard, together with the adjacent irrigation ditches in order that sacrifices may be burned for me from the income thereof to the value of not less than five denarii. The mystai, each and every one, are to bear a crown of roses at the ceremony. The mystes who does not bear such a crown is to have no share in the income from my bequest. If the Prinophoroi do not fulfill these conditions, the bequest is to devolve to the thiasos of the Dryophoroi, subject to the same conditions. And if the other thiasos does not carry out the terms

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l' autel avec les grandes personnes") and Baege, op. cit., p. 91 ("..et senex et puer coronam roseam afferentes..").

[43] Our inscription is cited by Dodds (Euripides: Bacchae, Oxford [1944], p. 77) in his commentary on these lines, who, however, attributes it to Philippi.

[43a] See Addenda on p. 204.

of the bequest, then the vineyard is to become the property of the city."

This interpretation has been disputed by Avezou and Picard (op. cit., pp. 41–47). They conclude that we have to do with a re-used bomos, — that the text on the two sides is a later addition cut at the time of this second use. "— Il ne serait pas invraisembable que ni le relief, ni l'inscription qui le surmonte [i.e. on the face of the altar], n'intéressassent la prêtresse, de qui nous avons le testament sur les faces latérales. Les examples de remploi de cippes sont fréquents [!] en Macédoine, et certaines particularités autoriseraient peut-être cette hypothèse." But when one is confronted with a monument which has on its face the relief of a woman and on its sides the bequest of a priestess, only the most forthright evidence can dissociate the text from the relief. In fact it is simply not true that "les examples de remploi de cippes sont fréquents" in Macedonia, if by this it is meant that bomoi in pre-Byzantine times "frequently" received inscriptions additional to and unrelated to the texts initially inscribed. Moreover, Avezou and Picard can cite no single instance to support their assertion.[44] From my own personal observation in Macedonia I can recall no such instance.[45]

From the view of Avezou and Picard it necessarily follows that Εὐεία Πρινοφόρου is a feminine personal name with patronymic. Either of these names is very unusual; in conjunction as father and daughter they are definitely not persuasive. Avezou and Picard argue (BCH, XXXVIII (1914), p. 46) that, "Il ne restera moins étrange de voir appeler 'évienne' la prêtresse du Prinophore, à moins de supposer que le Dionyse du thiase thessalonicien s'appelait *à la fois* (italics mine) Εὔειος et Πρινοφόρος." But, to cite only one example, the famous Bacchic inscription of the Metropolitan Museum[46] sufficiently shows how numerous and how varied could be the cult officials of a Dionysiac society; the fact that a single priestess of a thiasos (there is every reason to suppose that there were other priests and officials) bore the cult title Εὐία has no necessary

[44] They adduce only Duchesne, op. cit., no. 46 on p. 36 ff. [D. 398 (452)], reëdited by themselves in Mélanges d'arch. et d'hist., XXXII (1912), no. 4 on p. 355, which is beside the point, for the epigram on the right side of the bomos commemorates the deceased also named in the inscription on the face.

[45] Additional texts *are* added to sarcophagi, but this is when other bodies, invariably members of the same family, are placed in the sarcophagus. Kallipolitis and Lazaridis (op. cit., nos. 10 and 11 on pp. 17–20 [for complete reference see p. 158, n. 16 above]) have published two third century Greek funerary inscriptions which had been inscribed over earlier Latin epitaphs. But neither of these stones is a bomos.

[46] A. Vogliano and Fr. Cumont, "La Grande Iscrizione Bacchica del Metropolitan Museum," AJA, XXXVII (1933), pp. 215 ff.

implication for the epithet of the tutelary deity of the thiasos. Avezou and Picard also find difficulties in Prinophoros (loc. cit.). "La forme de l'épithète étonne; l'on comprendrait sans doute aisément un 'thiase de prinophores' —. Mais, en ce cas, le dieu eût dû s'appeler simplement Πρίνος comme il est qualifié Δρῦς et Βότρυς ailleurs." But surely Prinophoros is as permissible an epithet for the god in Thessalonica as Thyllophoros in Cos.[47] Moreover, their interpretation of lines 3–5 raises difficulties. They render (op. cit., p. 44): "Je, prêtresse en charge, Eueia, fille de Prinophoros, laisse, etc.". But the word order hardly supports their interpretation; the name and patronymic of the priestess should come first followed by the participial phrase.[48] Furthermore, the specifically epigraphic evidence weighs heavily against the view that the inscription on the sides is a later addition unconnected with the inscription on the face. At the end of line 1 of the text on the face of the bomos, letter strokes can still be detected on the squeeze; these seem identical with those of the text on the two sides (shallow, narrow strokes which are curved, not wedge-shaped at the bottom). It is at least highly probable that the inscription on the face was cut by the same workman who was responsible for the two sides. But the decisive point is that Avezou and Picard have failed to consider the last six lines of the inscription. Here the Dryophoroi are referred to as ὁ ἕτερος θίασος (lines 30–31). Obviously, the testatrix believed that she had already indicated with sufficient precision a thiasos other than the Dryophoroi; this can only be the Πρινοφόροι.[49] For all these reasons it is evident that the name of the priestess does not appear in lines 4–5, but is to be sought on the face of the stone.

We may now examine the remains of the text incised on the face of the bomos. Here the letters have been almost entirely worn away. (The unavoidable exposure in the yard of the Museum has doubtless furthered the process.) Only a few poor traces remain,

[47] See below, n. 49.

[48] The parallels adduced by Avezou and Picard (op. cit., p. 44, n. 1; p. 42, n. 3) do not support their argument, for in all these instances the participial phrase follows the name. This can hardly be dismissed as a slight difference ("La seule différence, legère, est que le nom figure en tête de la formule"; p. 44, n. 1).

[49] Baege, op. cit., p. 93; ". . . neque enim aberrabimus a vero existimantes alterius audisse mystas collegii Πρινοφόρους, alterius Δροιοφόρους. Bacchus enim Πρινοφόρος appellatus ab ipsis cepit colentibus Πρινοφόροις hoc cognomen; unde fit ut alterius thiasi ducem et auctorem mysteriorum Δροιοφόρον vocatum esse putare possimus." Poland, op. cit., p. 202: "Gelegentlich nimmt Dionysos offenbar auch den Namen seiner nach heiligen Symbolen benannten Gläubigen an; so heisst er in Thessalonike selbst Πρινοφόρος." One recalls Dionysus "Mystes" (RE, V, col. 1031).

mostly mere discoloration. H. of letters, ca. 0.02, phi larger; Interspace ca. 0.01.

Germain, the first to copy this text, read:

: . ⁝ ΥΦΟC . . ΙΗΝΟCΚΟ·
. . . . . ΦΙ . . . . ⁝ ΓCCΙΟ _ .

Papageorgiou has:[50]

Εὐφρο[σύνῃ] . . . Διοσκο·
ἀδελφῇ . . . . ισι(?), ἔτους
τοῦ κ[αὶ] . . μνήμης [χάριν]

Avezou and Picard (op. cit., p. 40) read:

My transcript and squeezes show only very faint traces, but one fact is certain; this text consisted of only *two* lines. There is barely enough space on the surface between line 2 and the upper moulding of the central panel for a third line of text, provided the interspace is entirely sacrificed, but there are no traces at all. Germain, the first to copy the text when this surface was, presumably, in a better state of preservation, read only two lines, and Avezou and Picard, though they assumed the existence of a third line, could find no traces. Papageorgiou's reading of a third line must be rejected.[51]

The first word in line 1 seems clearly to be Εὐφροσύνη. Avezou and Picard read Εὐφρο[σύ]νηι and assert (op. cit., p. 41, n. 1) "l'*iota* adscrit est certain." But an iota adscript in an inscription of Thessalonica which must be dated well into the third century and whose preserved text shows in an extreme degree the orthography of late Greek may be excluded.[52] Germain's copy and the traces showing on my squeeze indicate that we should read Εὐφρο[σύ]νη. The remaining traces in line 1 are ΔΙΟCΚΟ (Germain's N being a characteristic error in transcription for ΛΙ)·

[50] Die Ἱέρεια θύσα Inschrift, p. 2.

[51] For Papageorgiou's reading of the text on the face of the altar see above p. 166 and n. 29.

[52] In the third century inscriptions of the city the iota adscript, to my knowledge, ordinarily appears only in the stock phrase ἀγαθῇι τύχηι at the heading of honorary dedications.

Avezou and Picard, following here Papageorgiou's text, restore Διοσκο[ρίδου.][53] But there remains after the kappa in line 1 space for only two letters at the most, and the traces reported at the beginning of line 2 make it impossible that the proposed restoration be carried over into this line. The only possibility is Διοσκο[υ], the genitive of Διοσκους, a "Kurzform" for Dioskourides epigraphically attested at Serres.[54] Line 1 may be restored: Εὐφρο[σύ]νη Διοσκο[υ].

Line 2 is desperate, and I dare not rely on the faint and uncertain traces of my copy and squeeze. The first word according to the copies of Papageorgiou and of Avezou and Picard is [α]δελφη or [α]δελφιδη. The remaining traces do not, in my judgment, permit restoration, but it is perhaps legitimate to consider possibilities. None of the copies allows the restoration of the commemoratory formula μνήμης or μνείας χάριν.[55] This formula, though usual, is not mandatory. The latter portion of the line does permit ζη]σάση ἔτ[η.], but this leaves the traces immediately before the restoration unaccounted for. I have hit upon only one restoration which accounts for all the preserved and recorded traces of the obliterated text on the face of the bomos:

Εὐφρο[σύ]νη Διοσκο[υ]
[ἀ]δελφιδῆ ἱ[έρ]ε[ι]α Εὐεί[α]

One can of course object that this is redundant, since ἱέρεια and Εὐεία occur again in lines 3 and 4. But this is by no means a carefully composed document, and I do not feel that this repetition in itself is a decisive obstacle. It is of course unusual for the defunct to be described as someone's niece rather than with the patronymic or names of both parents, but a priori considerations have little

[53] Op. cit., p. 41, n. 2: "La transcription Διοσκο[-- de M. Papageorgiou paraît assurée (cf. la copie de Germain, et les traces de lettres aperçues encore par nous). On restituera donc: Διοσκο[ρίδου."

[54] P. N. Papageorgiou, Phil. Woch, XI (1891), cols. 770–71, line 32 [D. 821 (666)]. The genitive occurs in an unpublished inscription of unknown provenience which in the summer of 1938 was preserved in the Gymnasium at Serres.

[55] Germain's transcript of this line is very suspect because of his eta-sigma ligature. No ligatures occur in the preserved text on the sides, and a ligature of an eta with a lunate sigma, although attested in Macedonia, is most rare in Thessalonica. This ligature was not seen by the other editors.

cogency as regards a particular instance. Euphrosyne, an orphan, can have lived with the family of her uncle Dioskous.[56]

In Macedonia a close parallel to our testament is an inscription found at Neos Skopos (formerly Kisiklik or Toumbistis), a small town east of the Strymon about 8 kilometers southeast of Serres.[57] [Δι]οσκουρίδης | Σύρου Ὀλδηνὸς ἀπεγέ|νετο ἐτῶν . ξ . καὶ ἀπέλιπεν| τῇ Ὀλδηνῶν κώμῃ δηνάρια|| . ιε . ἵνα ἐκ τοῦ τόκου κρατὴρ | γεμισθῇ ἔνπροσθεν τῆς τα|φῆς καὶ στεφανωθῇ ἡ ταφὴ | ἐν ταῖς Μαινάσιν κατ᾽ ἐνιαυτὸν | ἅπαξ. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ποιήσωσιν, τό||τε ὁ χαλ[κ]ος ἔστω τῶν κληρονό|μων μου. Διοσκουρίδη χαῖρε. Though no thiasoi are here involved, the pattern of the bequest is all but identical with that of Euphrosyne. A modest sum is left the village on the condition that, from the interest thereof, every year at a stated festival a bowl is to be filled with wine before the testator's grave and the grave itself be crowned. If these provisions are not carried out, the money is to revert to the testator's heirs. This document is more specific than Euphrosyne's testament, since the time, occasion and place for the commemoratory rites are clearly stated. Euphrosyne does not say how frequently the burning of the rose crowns is to take place, nor where. But we must remember that such inscriptions "are merely *stelographiae* set up for purposes of publicity and that the transactions to which they refer were embodied in legal documents of a familiar type." [58] The Prinophoroi and Dryophoroi of Thessalonica were well aware of the provisions of the priestess's bequest.

[56] Papageorgiou, Die Ἱέρεια θύσα Inschrift, p. 2, asserts that there were four additional lines of text inscribed in the upper portion of the front central panel of the bomos, that is, in the area where the upper portion of the relief has been cut away. If true, this would be decisive evidence that the altar had, as Avezou and Picard argued, been "re-used." These alleged four lines Papageorgiou held were to be inserted between lines 15 and 16, i.e. between the end of the text on the right side and the beginning of that on the left side. His suggestion is clearly motivated by his realization that a main verb is lacking in lines 16–20. In point of fact, there is not the slightest trace of any letters in the area in question. (Avezou and Picard, op. cit., p. 42, n. 1 remark, "Nous n'en avons rien vu, pour notre part.") This bomos stood for two centuries or more in the interior of a Turkish mosque. Under these circumstances it is not remarkable that the exposed portion of the relief was cut away.

[57] G. Bakalakis, Ἀρχ. Ἐφημ., 1936, Ἀρχαιολογικὰ Χρονικά, no. 10 on pp. 17–19. See also the documents from the Philippi region assembled by Collart, op. cit., p. 474, n. 3.

[58] A. Cameron, Harv. Theol. Rev., XXXII (1939), p. 146.

In this connection we may recall that the top of Euphrosyne's funerary bomos has been hollowed out to form a receptacle (see above p. 166). It is of course by no means uncommon in Salonica as elsewhere for bomoi to be cut out in order to act as basins for receiving water from springs or conduits. But such cutting completely removes the interior of the stone and, moreover, is made into one of the four sides.[59] The small basin cut into the top of our bomos can never have served such a purpose. It may be that this cutting is original and that it was made in order to receive the rose crowns carried by Euphrosyne's fellow mystai which were burned in this cutting on the top of her funerary bomos.[60] But to me it seems more probable that the cutting was made at the time the bomos was placed inside the mosque and that its purpose was to serve as a basin to be used by the Turks for those ablutions which Mohammedan practice enjoins before the act of worship takes place. Of course the Turks can have selected this bomos for such use precisely because the desired basin had already been cut into it.

From Euphrosyne's testament we learn of two Dionysiac thiasoi in third century Thessalonica, the Prinophoroi and the Dryophoroi, whose members, as is characteristic of the age, were mystai and that associated with the Prinophoroi was a priestess who bore the cult title Εὐΐα, surely only one among several priests and officials of the thiasos. It is notable that these two thiasoi have names which are derived from varieties of oak,[61] the πρῖνος and the δρῦς.[62]

[59] A striking example is inv. no. 1684 of the Salonica Museum, the dedication to the Pythian Apollo by the Amphictyones and Agonothetai of the fourth Thessalonicean Pythias (252 A.D.), published by Pelekides (pp. 39–48) and L. Robert Études épigraphiques et philologiques, Paris [1938], pp. 53 ff.). Here the interior of the altar has been entirely hollowed out from the left side. It had acted as the receptacle for a spring in the Kallithea (Mevle-Hane) quarter of Salonica.

[60] It is, I am confident, excluded that this cutting received Euphrosyne's bones or ashes. There is no sign that it was fitted with a lid, which would be essential for such use, and moreover there is no indication at all among the very considerable number of funerary bomoi still extant in Salonica of such a practice. Normal practice was for an osthotheke or similar container to be fitted onto the top of the bomos. See Robert, op. cit., pp. 220–21 and the inscribed ostotheke published by Pelekides, p. 35, n. 4.

[61] Perdrizet, Cultes et mythes, p. 88, suggested that the two thiasoi were associations of merchants: "Je crois que, comme les dendrophores romains, les dryophores et prinophores de Thessalonique étaient des marchands des bois de charbon. Le commerce de bois a toujours été fort important en Macédoine. Les dryophores vendraient, je suppose, les bois de construction — ξύλα δρύϊνα — et les prinophores, le charbon obtenu avec le chêne vert....". This view does not, I feel, require discussion.

[62] See LSJ ss. vv.

Prinos is used to designate the holm oak (quercus ilex) or the kermes oak (quercus coccifera); drys, originally meaning simply "tree," came to be used to designate the species oak in general,[63] inclusive of such sub-species as the prinos and the φηγός (Valonia oak, quercus aegilops) as well as others. We are therefore to conclude that the two thiasoi attested by our document were very closely connected with each other — a conclusion which is further reinforced by the fact that in the bequest the Dryophoroi are the contingent legatee of the Prinophoroi —, that they formed, so to speak, a *pair* of thiasoi. Perhaps this observation gives us an insight into the organization of the Dionysiac thiasoi in Thessalonica, but in the absence of further evidence we can hardly be more definite. There is of course no reason whatever to assume that the thiasoi in Thessalonica were limited in number to the two whose names time and chance have preserved.

The question remains whether these thiasoi were private religious groups or were connected with the municipal cult of Dionysus. The evidence perhaps does not permit a certain answer, but the probabilities are, I believe, markedly in favor of the latter alternative. We have seen that Isidore, son of Sabinus (above pp. 159–60), is described in his epitaph as having been bouleutes *and* priest of two or more thiasoi of Dionysus. The association of these two positions suggests that they were both municipal offices. Thus at Sebastopolis (OGIS, no. 529) a dedication honoring the local magnate M. Antonius Rufus lists his office as thiasarch between those of archon and agoranomos, and a gravestone at Teos (CIG, no. 3112) was erected by the ephebes, the neoi, the demos, the gerousia and "all the thiasoi" (οἱ θίασοι πάντες).[64] And it is significant that, if the two thiasoi do not fulfill the terms of Euphrosyne's bequest, the vineyard is to revert to the polis of Thessalonica. This provision is particularly under-

[63] Cf. Theophrastus, Hist. Plant., III, 8, 2: δρυὸς δὴ γένη — ταύτην γὰρ μάλιστα διαιροῦσι.

[64] Teos is well known as a center of Dionysiac cult (Quandt, De Baccho etc., pp. 152–59). At Acmonia the "holy first thiasos" (τοῦ ἱεροῦ ά θ[ιά]σου) of Dionysus Kathegemon is surely connected with state cult (MAMA, VI, no. 239 on p. 89) as are the famous three thiasoi of Magnesia on the Maeander (O. Kern, Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander, Berlin [1900], no. 215 on pp. 139–40). So in the Bosphoran Chersonese (CIG, no. 2099) the title thiasarch (line 11) appears in a context which demands that it be considered a municipal office.

standable if the thiasoi in question were associated with the state cult.

But there is a further indication which suggests that these thiasoi were connected with the municipal cult. The three inscribed bomoi considered in this study which attest the cult of Dionysus in Roman Thessalonica were all found at or near the Eski Cuma, the Theodosian church of the Akheiropoietós. The first was found in the enclosure of the church (perhaps actually in situ), the second in a house near the church and the third was built into the interior of the church itself. The three bomoi are large and heavy stones, awkward and, moreover, expensive to transport. It is difficult to envisage the circumstances which would cause them to be assembled from different parts of the city [65] into this one relatively small area.[66] I therefore suggest that

[65] I am aware that, as has happened in Salonica, ancient marbles can be and have been transported for considerable distances for use in later construction. It is conceivable that our three bomoi were brought to the area of the Eski Cuma from another part of the city. But the probabilities are, I believe, definitely against this and for the following reasons.

(1) Isidore's funerary bomos has been found in a context and in a state of preservation which suggest, though do not prove, that it is in situ or not far from its original position. But the essential point here is that this stone was *not* used for building purposes but stood embedded in the earth with only its top surface exposed to wear. It shows no signs at all of recutting for use as a building block (see Fig. 2). A stone can of course be moved for purposes of construction and then not used, but it is surely perverse to assume that such is the case unless there be clear and unmistakable indications. It is difficult to believe that the monument was brought from elsewhere, set up with its base at very nearly the Roman level (see above p. 158) and then left standing in isolation.

(2) The epitaph for Apollonius was not used for construction in the church itself but in the foundations of a nearby private house belonging to one of the Sephardic Jewish families of Salonica. Just conceivably the stone might have been taken out of the church in the course of repairs or at the time it was converted into a mosque and so became available for private construction, but this is surely a desperate argument.

(3) The simplest and most obvious explanation is that this stone and Euphrosyne's bomos were used for building purposes in the house and the Eski Cuma respectively because they were ready to hand. Both these pieces of construction were late, in the case of the Eski Cuma after the conquest of Salonica by the Turks in 1430 (see Tafrali, Topographie, p. 164 — the exposed position of the bomos "à côté d'une colonne, en face de la grande porte, à gauche" can never have been part of the original construction [!] or Byzantine repairs), in that of the house sometime after the settlement of the Spanish Jews in the early sixteenth century.

[66] It is appropriate here to list the other ancient inscriptions found at the Eski Cuma.

(1) An inscribed sarcophagus: Papageorgiou, Phil. Woch., XXXI (1911), no. 1 on col. 1205; Avezou and Picard, Mélanges d'arch. et d'hist., XXXII (1912), no. 1 on p. 359.

the temple of Dionysus in Roman Thessalonica stood at or near the site of the Theodosian church of the Akheiropoietós. The ancient architectural members still extant are all remains of the original church, not, apparently, of an earlier Roman building.[67] But some little distance beneath the Theodosian level there are remains of a Roman mosaic floor; a public building of the Roman period did stand on the site of the later church of the Akheiropoietós.[68] The epigraphic evidence, admittedly insufficient for a demonstration, does at least create the real possibility that this Roman building was the temple of Dionysus. It is understandable that funerary bomoi in commemoration of individuals connected

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(2) An inscribed fragment: see Avezou and Picard, op. cit., no. 5 on pp. 360–61. The editors daringly suggest that this is a fragment of a decree in honor of a legatus pro praetore.

(3) Fragment of a sarcophagus acting as a flag in the floor of the mosque: Duchesne, op. cit., no. 41 on p. 33 [D. 506 (499)], now in the collection of antiquities in the church of St. George.

(4) Fragment of a sarcophagus: Avezou and Picard, op. cit., no. 2 on p. 359, now in the same collection.

(5) Fragment of a bomos, almost certainly funerary, seen by Germain "à côté de la grande porte, en entrant à la mosquée Eski Juma": Omont, op. cit., no. 33 on p. 212 [D. 733 (596)]. I observed this fragment lying loose on the edge of the street near the church area.

As may be seen by one who visits the crypt beneath the church of St. Demetrius, ancient marbles were used in the construction of the Byzantine churches of Salonica, and also of course for later repairs. The point here is that of the inscriptions found at or in the immediate vicinity of the Eski Cuma, three have to do with cult, and all three with the same cult, that of Dionysus. It is surely difficult to regard this as fortuitous.

[67] Felix Beaujour, French consul in Salonica in the late eighteenth century (Tableau du commerce de la Grèce, Paris [1800], vol. I, p. 44) asserted that the "Eski Djumma" was an ancient temple (of Venus Thermaea!). "C'était un parallélogramme parfait qui avait soixante-dix pieds de long sur trente-cinq de large, et qui était soutenu sur les deux côtés par douze colonnes d'ordre ionique [!], de la plus élégante form. Les six colonnes du fronton se trouvent aujourd'hui masquées dans les murs recrépis de la mosquée. Si ce pays appartenait à un peuple policé, on pourrait dépouiller le temple de Venus Therméenne des bâtisses gothiques qui le déparent; et cette carcasse serait alors, après le temple de Thesée, le monument pur le mieux conservé de la Grèce. Mais aujourd'hui on ne peut le voir qu'à travers une enveloppe de plâtre, et j' ai passé trois ans à Salonique, sans soupconner ce que c'était." But Beaujour's exciting description of the temple of the Thermaean Aphrodite is of the same stuff as his temple of Hercules and "arc de triomphe" on the citadel of Salonica (op. cit., p. 29). See the remarks of Tafrali, op. cit., pp. 160–61. Beaujour seems clearly to have confused the Theodosian basilica with a pagan temple.

[68] So upon the foundations and portions of the ancient walls of the Sarapeion in the western portion of the city (see below pp. 181 ff.) are the remains of a Byzantine superstructure; BCH, XLV (1921), p. 540.

with the cult of the god should have been placed in the vicinity of the temple precinct. And it was particularly in the Theodosian period that pagan temples were appropriated for, or destroyed and rebuilt as, Christian churches.[69] By ca. 400 A.D. there can have been few pagans of sufficient influence in Thessalonica [70] to protest with any effectiveness the erection of a church on the site of the temple of Dionysus.[71]

I do not here consider the damaged and hence enigmatic dedicatory altar published by Avezou and Picard [72] which has been the subject of a careful and illuminating study by Robert.[73] I believe Robert, as against Cumont,[74] has succeeded in establishing that it is perhaps somewhat more probable that this dedication has to do with Attis rather than with Dionysus.[75] Most unfortunately, the provenience of this inscription is not known; it is just possible that the stone may not be from Salonica at all.[76] The dedication, therefore, cannot with entire assurance

[69] See the discussion by Grégoire and Kugener in the introduction to their edition of the life of St. Porphyry of Gaza (H. Grégoire and M.-A. Kugener, Marc le Diacre: Vie de Porphyre, Évêque de Gaza, Paris [1930], pp. lxiv ff.).

[70] Himerius (V, 8 [ed. Dübner]) in his speech to the people the Thessalonica given about 361 A.D. (he was on his way to the emperor Julian) can say in his flattering description of the city, *ἱερὰ πανταχοῦ*. These are presumably pagan temples. But Himerius, himself a pagan in an age when paganism had become a cause, is capable of some exaggeration on such a matter.

[71] It is significant for the religious development in the city during the last third of the fourth century that St. Porphyry of Gaza was born into a family of the municipal aristocracy of Thessalonica; see Grégoire and Kugener, op. cit., ch. 4 o the Greek text on p. 4. The context shows, or at least strongly implies, that hi family was Christian.

[72] BCH, XXXVII (1913), no. 7 on pp. 97–100; now inv. no. 1784 in the Salonic Museum.

[73] L. Robert, "Inscription de Thessalonique," Annuaire de l'institut de philologi et d'histoire orientales, II (1933–34) [Mélanges Bidez], pp. 795–812 with plates V and VII facing pp. 795 and 802 respectively.

[74] AJA, XXXVII (1933), p. 259, n. 2.

[75] The fact that the cult of Attis is not attested by any inscription so far dis covered in Salonica is without any real significance.

[76] It was first published by Papageorgiou (*Ἀλήθεια*, 14 July 1904, inscriptio no. 2) in an article entitled "*Θεσσαλονίκης ἀνέκδοτοι ἐπιγραφαί*," and hence *ought* t be from Salonica, although Papageorgiou does not indicate the place of discovery (It may be possible that in transcribing Papageorgiou's article from the unique — and incomplete — files of *Ἀλήθεια* in the National Library at Athens I neglected t copy the provenience.) But in an article published in the same newspaper for 1 July 1905, also entitled "Unpublished Inscriptions of Thessaloniki," Papageorgio includes, with only very incidental and unclear reference to provenience which ca easily be missed, one inscription from Verria (his no. 15; later published by Avezo and Picard, op. cit., no. 12 on pp. 101–02 as from Salonica) and one from Yannits (no. 16; now inv. no. 721 in the catalogue of sculptures in the Istanbul Museu

be used as evidence for cult in Thessalonica. *If*, however, it were established that this bomos was found at, or in the immediate vicinity of, the Akheiropoietós, I should be very strongly inclined to attribute it to the cult of Dionysus in spite of Robert's persuasive but not absolutely decisive arguments,[77] for in a late document such as this evidences of syncretism can be expected.[78] My only, and very slight, contribution to the elucidation of this text is to remark that in lines 2–3 the reading ἀρχιμαγα|ρεύς is certain. Robert (op. cit., p. 805) did not detect the vertical stroke of the rho at the beginning of line 3, doubtfully indicated by Avezou and Picard; my copy, however, does show the probable trace of the lower extremity of this stroke which also appears on the squeeze. The alternative reading, ἀρχιμαγα|[δ]εύς, tentatively considered by Robert (op. cit., p. 806 ff.) is impossible, for enough of the original surface is preserved so that the lower right portion of the delta would certainly show. The conclusive point is that the rho was read complete by Papageorgiou in his original publication of the bomos.[79] This particular letter space is at the upper left corner of the preserved face where it could easily suffer abrasion, as, for example, while being transported.

3. *Ἱεραφόροι συνκλίται.*

In the course of the works of reconstruction undertaken in Salonica after the great fire of 1917 there was discovered in the western section of the city, off the Dhiagonios Vardhariou about half way between the Administration Building and the Plateia Vardhariou, a temple of Sarapis whose original construction is to be dated into the late third century B.C.[1] Among the finds were a considerable number of inscriptions of which only two have been published, a fragment of the "Hymn to Isis" dated to post 100 A.D.[2] and a small stele containing an excerpt concerning the

[G. Mendel, Catalogue des sculptures, vol. III, Constantinople (1914), no. 959 on p. 172]). It is therefore actually possible, though on the whole very unlikely, that this dedication is from elsewhere in Macedonia. Unless an inscription is known to have been found in Salonica and in a context which shows it was not brought into the city from outside, it is always at best somewhat precarious to use it as evidence for Thessalonica. A collection of the inscriptions of the ancient city must clearly distinguish the stones known certainly to be from Salonica from those of uncertain or unknown provenience. Any other method will inevitably create serious confusion.

[77] Op. cit., pp. 801–04.

[78] See Robert, op. cit., p. 803, n. 4.

[79] See above n. 79 ad init.

[1] BCH, XLV (1921), [Chronique des fouilles], pp. 540 ff.; Pelekides, p. 4.

[2] Pelekides, pp. 4–5; cited by Nock, CAH, XII, p. 420, n. 4.

monies of the temple taken from a diagramma issued by King Philip V in 187 B.C.[3] Among the texts as yet unpublished is a large fragment of a record of incubation in the Sarapeum. Early in 1939 a small temple of the Roman period was discovered in the immediate vicinity of the original precinct beneath the narthex of which was a subterranean crypt.[4] The entrance to this crypt had, most fortunately, been sealed in late antiquity, and hence its contents had been preserved intact. In addition to sculptures and other finds, no fewer than thirty-five inscriptions were discovered. Among these were an excellent elegiac poem in five distichs dated (by the letter forms) to the first century B.C. with the name of the poet, Damaios,[5] and a late Hellenistic dedicatory relief with the inscription Ὀσείριδι μύστει. It is clear that the Sarapeum of Thessalonica presents a body of evidence, archeological and epigraphic, second only to that of Delos and covering a much longer period of time. Indeed there exists the danger that the mere bulk of this material relative to the other known cults of the city may tend unduly to overemphasize the actual rôle played by the Egyptian gods in the religious life of Thessalonica. It is therefore well to recall that none of these deities ever appears on the coinage of the city in any period.

No discussion of the cult of the Egyptian gods in Thessalonica is possible until the material from the Sarapeum is published. It is here merely the intention to make available, through the kind permission of Mr. Charalambos Makaronas, formerly Curator of the Salonica Museum and now Ephor of Antiquities for Macedonia, a document connected with that cult. The following inscription was found in 1932 in the Eliadhis settlement (*συνοικισμός*) in the suburb of Salonica called Ayia Paraskevi less than one kilo-

[3] Pelekides, pp. 5–23; Welles, AJA, XLII (1938), pp. 249 ff.

[4] Charilambos I. Makaronas, Μακεδονικά (Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικὸν τῆς Ἑταιρείας Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν), I (1940) [Χρονικὰ Ἀρχαιολογικά], pp. 464–65.

[5] It is not apparent whether the text of the poem associates it specifically with the cult at Thessalonica or whether it is of a more general nature as, for example, in praise of one or more of the Egyptian gods. If the latter is the case, one may remark that there is no necessary reason to hold that the poem is precisely contemporary with the inscription or that it was composed in Thessalonica; it could then be a local publication of a poem well known in the cult of the Egyptian gods. The father of Nicander of Colophon (Fr. Gr. Hist., III A, nos. 271–272, T 2 on p. 85), who seems to have come from a family of poets, was named Damaios. See Jacoby's thorough discussion, Fr. Gr. Hist., III a, pp. 230 ff., particularly p. 236.

FIGURE NUMBER 6

meter due north of the western section of the city and something over that distance from the site of the Sarapeum, with which there is no reason to believe that our document was ever physically associated.

Inv. no. 1254 in the Salonica Museum. A narrow stele of greyish marble with pediment and acroteria at top. In the center of the pediment is a sphere in relief. The extreme top of the stele is broken away; the lower left edge is damaged. Immediately below the pediment is a relief: Within a wreath secured at the bottom by a taenium is represented a draped statue of Anubis standing on a small base. The body faces front. The dog's head is turned in profile to the left. The right arm is bent with the hand in the folds of the robe at the breast; the left arm, somewhat bent, hangs at the side. H. (ext.) 0.895; W. 0.255; Th. (max.) 0.105. Top (ext.) of stone to top of first line 0.36. H. of letters, line 1 0.02, line 2 ca. 0.018, lines 3 ff. ca. 0.015. Vertical interspace, lines 1–2 0.008, lines 3 ff. ca. 0.005. The letter forms are conventional, without ligatures. The letters are frequently somewhat crowded together. The inscribed surface has suffered some damage, but there is no real difficulty in reading. The final upsilon of line 9 has for reasons of space been placed at the end of line 8. The left margin of the text is somewhat uneven. Photo: Fig. 6.

Relief

Αὔλωι
Παπίωι · Χείλωνι
καταστήσαντι τὸν
οἶκον · οἱ · ἱεραφόροι
συνκλίται
Σκάνιος · Φῆλιξ
Σαλάριος · Νικηφόρος
Λουκείλιος · Βάσσος·υ
Πρίαμος · Ἀπολλωνίο
Πρῖμος · Ἀρχεπόλε(ως)
Δοσένιος · Βάκχιος
Ἰούλιος · Σεκοῦνδος
Ἄννιος · Σεκοῦνδος
Βιήσιος · Φῆλιξ

15. Σεκοῦνδος · Εὐφάντου
Μένανδρος · Νικάνδρου
Ἀπολῆος · Λούκ{ι}ολος
Καλίστρατος · ὁ καὶ ἄρχων

FIGURE NUMBER 6

The document is not dated. But the iota adscripts of the dative in lines 1 and 2, the letter forms and the competent though undistinguished workmanship seem to place it not later than the first half of the second century A.D. The Roman names do not demand a date later than the Julio-Claudian period, but the very high proportion of Roman citizens, nine out of fourteen persons, strongly suggests that the inscription is not earlier than the period indicated above.

The relief shows that the tutelary deity of the society is the god Anubis. The only other example known to me in the Aegean area of a private cult society devoted to the worship of Anubis alone, that is, *not* in conjunction with Sarapis and Isis, is the Συνανουβιασταί of Smyrna in the early third century B.C.[6] Our stele was erected in honor of Aulus Papius Chilon, who had "established" the society's oikos, clearly a building, probably small, where the members met for religious and social functions.[7] The only official of the society who appears is the archon Kal(l)istratos, — clearly the president.[8] In the pre-Roman period, as Poland remarks (op. cit., p. 361), the title ἄρχων is extremely rare as the designation of officials of private societies because of the desire to avoid confusion with the chief magistracy of so many Greek cities. In Thessalonica since 167 B.C. at the latest no such confusion was possible since the chief magistrates of the town were the college of politarchs.[9] The society calls itself the ἱεραφόροι συνκλίται. The latter word, "companions at table," candidly acknowledges the association's primary interest. Ἱεραφόροι raises larger issues.

Plutarch in his invaluable essay on Isis and Osiris (3 [352 B])

[6] Michel, Recueil, no. 1223 on p. 856.

[7] For οἶκος see Poland, op. cit., p. 459 ff., and particularly his statement on p. 462, "Alle Andeutungen, die wir soeben über die Verwendung der Kulthäuser beigebracht haben, mögen sie nun οἶκοι oder οἰκίαι genannt werden, weisen ihnen ihre Bedeutung als Mittelpunkt der Geselligkeit beim Feste zu."

[8] It is curious that his patronymic is not given. There is ample uninscribed space beneath line 18 for his title.

[9] See above p. 161, n. 7.

says that many writers call Isis the daughter of Hermes (i.e. Thoth) and many others the daughter of Prometheus, because Prometheus is thought to be the discoverer of wisdom and forethought and Hermes of *grammatike* and *mousike*. "For this reason they call the first of the Muses at Hermoupolis Isis as well as Justice: for she is wise, as I have said, and discloses the divine mysteries (*τὰ θεῖα*) to those who truly and justly have the name of *hieraphoroi* and *hierostoloi*. These are they who within their own soul, as though within a casket (*ἐν κίστῃ*), bear the sacred writings about the gods clear of all superstition and pedantry (*περιεργίας*); and they cloak them with secrecy, thus giving intimations, some dark and shadowy, some clear and bright, of their concepts about the gods, intimations of the same sort as are clearly evidenced in the wearing of the sacred garb." [10] This passage shows that Plutarch thought of the hieraphoroi as a category of individuals who had in a special sense participated in the mysteries of Isiac cult, though of course the formal duty of bearing the sacred cult objects and scriptures is implicit in the name.

In fact, there seem to be very few instances of hieraphoroi known in Greek lands. An inscription of Pergamum from the Roman period (Ditt., Syll.[2] no. 754) records the dedication by the hieraphoroi Publius Euphemus and his wife, Tullia Spendousa, at the command of Isis (. . *ἡ θεὸς ἐκέλευσε*), of statues of Sarapis, Isis, Anubis, Harpocrates, Osiris, Apis, Helios mounted on a horse with a suppliant (*ἱκέτην*) beside the horse, Ares, the Dioscuri, a cloth (*σινδόνα*) on which was represented the goddess "and everything about the goddess" (*καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν θεὸ[ν] πάντα*), three other fine (*λαμπράς*) cloths and eighty golden leaves. Euphemus and Spendousa also contributed the hands (*ἀκρόχειρα*) of the statues, the sandals, the bronze work and the lustral vessel (*περιραντήριον*) located in front of the entrance to the shrine. This splendid dedication surely has to do with state cult; such valuable objects (note the gold leaves) demanded a constant supervision which they would hardly have received in a private chapel.[11] We are to

[10] The rendering of F. C. Babbitt in the "Loeb Classical Library," with slight modifications.

[11] Cf. the "Epistle to Diognetus" (ed. Blakeney, London [1943]), II, 7: *οὐ πολὺ μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς* (i.e. the pagan gods) *χλευάζετε καὶ ὑβρίζετε, τοὺς μὲν λιθίνους καὶ, ὀστρακίνους σέβοντες ἀφυλάκτους, τοὺς δὲ ἀργυρέους καὶ χρυσοῦς ἐγκλείοντες ταῖς νυξί,*

conclude that the hieraphoroi at Pergamum were connected with the state cult of the Egyptian gods. At Paros (IG, XII, 5, 1, no. 291) in an inscription of the second to third centuries A.D. hieraphoroi honor the priestess Mousa for her piety toward the gods. The cult is unspecified, but here too we are probably confronted with state cult and with the Egyptian gods.[12] I know of no other instances of hieraphoroi in Greek lands.

The hieraphoroi synklitai inscription of Thessalonica reveals what is essentially a private club created for social purposes. But the fact that the members are collectively designated as hieraphoroi as well as synklitai makes it impossible to separate them from a larger and established cult. It is surely difficult to postulate the existence of a group of hieraphoroi as a separate and quite independent society without any connection with other cult officials. In my view the most persuasive interpretation of the inscription is that the hieraphoroi were a well defined group of functionaries associated with the municipal cult of the Egyptian gods at Thessalonica who chose to form themselves also into a private club, as the hieraphoroi synklitai, for purposes of social intercourse under the tutelage of the god Anubis. One recalls the college of Pastophori mentioned by Apuleius as associated with Isiac cult.[13] Anubis presides over the society as synklitai, *not* as hieraphoroi. So at Demetrias in Magnesia during the latter half of the second century B.C. we find an organized group of ὑπόστολοι connected with the public cult of Sarapis who as a specific corporate body pass a decree honoring the priest of the municipal cult.[14] I suggest that the hieraphoroi of Thessalonica were a similar group of functionaries within the municipal cult of the

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καὶ ταῖς ἡμεραῖς φύλακας παρακαθιστάντες, ἵνα μὴ κλαπῶσιν; Here the implied reference is surely to public cult.

[12] In view of Plutarch's remark at the beginning of the sentence in which he mentions the hieraphoroi to the effect that Isis is called "first of the Muses at Hermoupolis," it is at least curious that the priestess honored by the hieraphoroi at Paros is named Mousa.

[13] Metamorphoses, XI, 17 — coetu pastophorum (quod sacrosancti collegii nomen est); 27 and 30.

[14] IG, IX, 2, no. 1107, b. The priest of Sarapis, Κρίτων Κρίτωνος, was a person of considerable local importance as is shown by the fact that he was or became strategos of the League of the Magnesians (IG, IX, 2, no. 1132). That the hypostoloi at Demetrias were an organized group connected with the state cult is proven, not only by their own decree, but also by the dedication IG, IX, 2, no. 1133 wherein the polis Demetrias honors Kriton ἱερατεύσαντα Σαρ[άπιδος]. The hypos-

Egyptian gods who met also as a private society for social purposes. I do not think we are forced to conclude from the fact that Anubis is the single deity on the stele celebrating the foundation of the society's oikos that the cult functions of the hieraphoroi were connected with Anubis alone. It is by far the more probable that they served the Egyptian gods as a group. The chief significance of our inscription is that it provides evidence for a board of at least fourteen hieraphoroi connected with the state cult of the Egyptian gods at Thessalonica.[15]

Private religious associations are of course attested in Roman Thessalonica. In addition to the thiasos of Asiani considered above and the *συνήθεις* of Heracles (above p. 163),[16] a private association worshipping, almost certainly, Zeus Hypsistos is known,[17] and a society of Asklepiastai has recently come to light.[18] There are also two other societies connected with the Egyptian gods. One is a wretchedly worked marble base of the third century of our era with a semi-literate text in which the *προστάτες θρησκευτῶν καὶ τῶν σηκοβατῶν θεοῦ Ἑρμανούβιδος* honor a fellow member. There also appears an archinakoros.[19] In so far as it is permissible to argue from the physical appearance of a monument, this association was not one of social distinction. On a very different level are *οἱ συνθρεσκευταὶ κλεινῆς θεοῦ μεγάλου Σαράπιδος* who with the consent of the boule and demos erected a bomos in honor of their prostates, P. Aelius Nicanor, a Macedoniarch, i.e. an important official of the provincial council, the Synhedrion.[20] Here we have an association some at least of whose members belonged to the municipal aristocracy.

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toloi were so designated because of their vestments; see IG, XII s, no. 571 from Eretria (third century B.C.) where *τὸ κοινὸν τῶν μελανηφόρων καὶ ὑποστόλων* crown a priest *κατὰ τὴν μαντείαν τοῦ θεοῦ*. The god is presumably Sarapis or Osiris.

[15] It is possible that some of the members of the society were emeriti, that is, that they no longer actively participated as cult officials.

[16] The *συνήθεια τῶν πορφυροβάφων τῆς ὀκτωκαιδεκάτης* (Duchesne, op. cit., no. 83 on p. 52 [D. 439 (476)]; Mendel, Catal. sculpt. C/ple, III [1914], no. 967 on pp. 180–81; cf. L. Robert, Etudes anatoliennes [Paris 1937], p. 535, n. 3) seems not to be connected with cult.

[17] Duchesne, op. cit., no. 84 on p. 52 [D. 440 (476)] as interpreted by Nock, Harv. Theol. Rev., XXIX (1936), p. 57, n. 27. Inscriptions concerning Zeus Hypsistos have been discovered in Salonica during the recent war.

[18] Kallipolitis and Lazaridis, op. cit., no. 10 on pp. 38–9 [for complete reference see p. 158, n. 16].

[19] Avezou and Picard, BCH, XXXVII (1913), no. 6 on pp. 94 ff.; now inv. no. 1790 in the Salonica Museum. The provenience is not known. It is therefore possible (though not likely) that the base does not originate in Salonica. See above p. 180, n. 76.

[20] P. N. Papageorgiou, *Ἀλήθεια*, 17 October 1906, no. 27 on p. 1 (whence Pelekides, p. 76, n. 5); now inv. no. 1786 in the Salonica Museum.

Nine of the fourteen members of the hieraphoroi synklitai are Roman citizens, and it is not at all likely that they are all freedmen. This, I think, indicates that we have to do with an association of some social pretension, as is understandable if the hieraphoroi were functionaries connected with the state cult. It is not at all probable that the post of hieraphoros was a liturgy, but it is very possible that it made real financial demands on its holders; certainly Publius Euphemus and his wife Spendousa (above p. 185) were something more than merely well-to-do. Outside the city walls of Thessalonica in the suburbs to the northwest Aulus Papius Chilon built an oikos for his fellow hieraphoroi where they could meet together at stated intervals presided over by their archon, perform rites to Anubis and dine together as friends united in their common interest and common duty as functionaries in the public cult of the Egyptian gods.

4. The Cult of Cabirus.[1]

Hunc eundem Macedonum colit stulta persuasio. Hic est Cabirus cui Thessalonicenses quondam cruento cruentis manibus supplicabant.[2]

The only cult of Thessalonica to have left any trace in our literary tradition is that of Cabirus. The Cabiri are not indigenous to the Macedonian area but were introduced from the near-by

[1] This study is strictly limited to Thessalonica, and I have not, except in the introductory sentences, made use of any evidence which is not specifically and unmistakably related to that city. I have not, for example, adduced the two reliefs published by F. Chapouthier in his excellent monograph, Les Dioscures au service d'une déesse, Paris (1935), nos. 5 and 6 on pp. 27–29, for the provenience of these two monuments, given as "Salonica," is in fact quite uncertain, as Chapouthier acknowledges. They can be from anywhere in central or eastern Macedonia. Until 1881 the place of origin of most of the accessions to the Imperial Ottoman Museum in Constantinople was usually indicated only by the name of the chief city of the vilayet in which they were found as, for example, "Brusa" or "Salonica." See the remarks of G. Mendel, Catalogue des sculptures, vol. I, Constantinople (1912), pp. xiv and xix. I note that the barbarous relief published by Mendel, op. cit., vol. III (1914), no. 914 on p. 129, as from "Salonica," is also quite clearly "Helen" and the Dioscuri.

[2] Firmicus Maternus, De er. prof. rel, 11; cited by Duchesne, op. cit., p. 75 and Baege, op. cit., p. 177. Cf. Lactantius, Div. Inst., I, 15, 8, "privatim vero singuli populi gentis aut urbis suae conditores, seu viri fortitudine insignes erant, ... summa veneratione coluerunt, ut . . . . Macedones Cabirum;" cited by Duchesne, loc. cit., and Baege, p. 175.

Samothrace. As early as the reigns of Philip II and Alexander the royal family and members of the Macedonian aristocracy were showing interest in the mysteries of the Samothracian gods.[3] But there is as yet little evidence [4] for the worship of the Dioscuri-Cabiri in Hellenistic Macedonia and none for the cult of the Samothracian gods at Thessalonica in the pre-Roman period.[5] Nor in the limited number of Hellenistic inscriptions thus far found in the city does the proper name Dioscourides, so enormously popular in Thessalonica as elsewhere in central and eastern Macedonia during the imperial age, appear.

The earliest preserved record connecting Thessalonica with the cult of the Samothracian gods is in IG, XII, 8, no. 195, an inscription listing individuals who visited the island sometime between 37 B.C. and 43 A.D.[6] In this catalogue there appears among the μύσται εὐσεβεῖς α Θεσσαλονικεὺς Ἀρχέπολι[ς] Νικοπόλεως (lines 7–9). The name of this person can be restored with great probability as that of the priest and agonothete of Augustus in a list of priests and magistrates of Thessalonica which is to be dated to

[3] Plutarch, Alexander, 2. The Macedonian lady Antigona of Pella (H. Berve, Das Alexanderrich, vol. II, Munich [1926], no. 86 on p. 42) was captured by the Persian fleet in 333 B.C. while en route to Samothrace from Macedonia presumably to partake in the mysteries; Plutarch, De fort. Alex. II, 7 (339 E). S. Accame has recently published (Riv. di Fil., New Series, XX [1941], pp. 179–93) an incomplete and undated letter of Philip V to the Athenians resident in Hephaistia on Lemnos. The stone was found in the Cabirion, and in his letter the king stresses his interest in the cult of the Anakes. I am not convinced by Accame's attempt to associate the letter with the events attending the outbreak of Philip's second war with Rome; the document can be dated to any period in Philip's reign down to the abolition of the two Macedonian tribes by Athens in 201 B.C.

[4] There is unpublished epigraphic evidence from Philippi.

[5] The Dioscuri or their equivalent do appear on the coinage of the city in four issues which are to be dated, according to Gaebler (op. cit., 2te Abteilung, remarks to no. 17 on p. 120), after 89 B.C. and which bear on their obverse the head of Janus op. cit., nos. 17, 19, 20 and 21). The reverse of the first of these shows the mounted Dioscuri with flying cloaks symmetrically facing outward toward the edge of the coin. The other three issues have a pair of centaurs with streaming cloaks similarly arranged. But the head of Janus on the obverse of these four issues is surely a clear reference to Rome, and the Dioscuri are well known as a Roman coin type in the period after 187 B.C. (H. Mattingly and E. S. Robinson, "The Date of the Roman Denarius," Proceedings of the British Academy, XVIII [1932], pp. 211–67). Hence these issues can hardly be considered evidence for a state cult of the Samothracian gods at Thessalonica in the late Hellenistic period.

[6] The date, lines 5–6, is: ὡς Μακεδόνες ἄγουσιν | ἔτους [ά καὶ .] καὶ ρ′ in the most recent text published by L. Robert in Collection Froehner, I. Inscriptions grecques, Paris (1936), no. 44 on pp. 52–53. The date is between the 111th and 191st years of the Macedonian provincial era.

that emperor's reign.[7] An unpublished dedication found by F. Chapouthier on Samothrace in 1926 also lists a number of initiates from Thessalonica.[8] One may conclude that by the reign of Augustus at the latest members of the city's upper classes were showing interest in the cult of the Samothracian gods.

The coinage of Thessalonica in the Roman period clearly shows the importance of the cult of Cabirus.[9] On the pseudo-autonomous coinage of the Roman age Cabirus first appears on an issue of the Flavian period.[10] The obverse has the bust of the unbearded Cabirus wearing laurel crown and facing to the right; the hammer is indicated as resting on his left shoulder. There is the legend KABEI | POΣ. The reverse of four issues whose obverse shows the bust of the city goddess wearing her crown of towers, has the standing Cabirus clad in a short chiton and chlamys, his body facing front with head turned to the left. In his extended right hand he holds a rhyton which ends as the forepart of an animal; in his left hand he grasps the hammer. These four issues all have the legend KABEIPOΣ or KABIPOΣ.[11] Cabirus is also represented as a small idol on the reverse of a coin which bears the seated city goddess and on whose obverse is the bust of the city goddess.[12] On the pseudo-autonomous coinage of the city beginning with the Flavian period the only deity except Cabirus who appears (saving always the city goddess) is Apollo on the reverse of an issue to be dated about 250 A.D.[13] The dominant rôle of Cabirus on this coinage is apparent.

[7] Duchesne, op. cit., no. 1 on pp. 11–12 [D. 367 (427)]; see also Edson, Macedonica II. "State Cults of Thessalonica," Harvard Studies, LI (1941), pp. 127–29. Lines 5 to 8 can be restored: *ἐπὶ ἱερέως καὶ ἀγων[οθέτου·αὐ]|τοκράτορος · Καίσα [ρος θεοῦ] | υἱοῦ Σεβαστο[ῦ·'Αρχεπόλε]ως τοῦ Νεικοπόλ[εως.*

[8] Chapouthier, op. cit., p. 234, n. 4.

[9] The numismatic references which follow are all to H. Gaebler, Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands, III Makedonia und Paionia, 2te Abteilung, Berlin (1935), pp. 117–31. I have cited the numbers of the coins as given in Gaebler's catalogue. This catalogue, most unforunately, is not complete. Reference to such other numismatic publications as are available to me has not, however, brought to light evidence which modifies the views here expressed as to the importance of the cult of Cabirus in Roman Thessalonica.

[10] No. 34. On the pseudo-autonomous coinage of the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods, as listed by Gaebler, Demeter appears twice (nos. 26 and 27), Pan twice (nos. 29 and 30); Zeus (no. 25) and Nike (no. 28) once each.

[11] Nos. 35 to 38.

[12] No. 41.

[13] No. 42. But see below p. 191.

On the "imperial" coinage struck by the city, that is, the coinage whose obverse always bears representations of the reigning emperor or other members of the imperial family, Cabirus seems first to appear on the reverse of an issue of Julia Domna.[14] The god, his body facing front with head turned to the left and clad in a short chiton and chlamys, stands within a two columned aedicula and holds in his extended right hand the rhyton ending as the forepart of an animal and in his raised left hand the hammer. He is similarly represented on a coin of Elagabalus.[15] Cabirus also appears as a small idol on coins of Julia Paula, the wife of Elagabalus, along with a Nike,[16] — of Maximinus, with the city goddess,[17] — and of Gordian III [18] and Philip,[19] with Apollo. On two issues of Philip [20] and Gallienus [21] respectively Apollo is represented to the right as holding a laurel branch in his left hand and with his right hand extending five apples towards Cabirus, who stands to the left with his right hand extended, bearing the hammer on his left shoulder. On the "imperial" coinage struck by the city the only god who competes with Cabirus is Apollo, who appears, beginning in 240 A.D., in nine issues.[22] On these Cabirus is twice represented along with Apollo [23] and twice as a small idol on reverses which bear Apollo.[24] But on this late coinage of Thessalonica Apollo is little more than the personification of the "Pythian Games," which were founded by the city in 240 A.D. in competition with and, as far as Thessalonica itself was concerned, to supersede the provincial games held at Beroea.[25] Indeed, on the coins the title of the games, Πύθια, sometimes receives the additional epithet Καβίρεια.[26]

[14] No. 52.
[15] No. 53.
[16] No. 54.
[17] No. 55.
[18] No. 56.
[19] No. 66.
[20] No. 63.
[21] No. 69.
[22] Nos. 56, 57, 58, 59, 63, 65, 66, 68 and 69.
[23] Nos. 63 and 69.
[24] Nos. 56 and 66.
[25] For the Pythian Games of Thessalonica see Pelekides, pp. 39–48; L. Robert, Études épigraphiques et philologiques, Paris (1938), pp. 53–62. See also Gaebler, op. cit., remarks to nos. 56 and 62 on pp. 127 and 129. Beroea countered in 242 A.D. by naming her games "Olympian." See below p. 196.
[26] Gaebler, op. cit., remarks to no. 62 on p. 129.

The numismatic evidence, therefore, is decisive as demonstrating that, from the Flavian period at the latest, Cabirus was the chief, the tutelary deity of Thessalonica. This explains and gives point to the legend DEO CABIRO on the reverse of an Antoninianus of Claudius Gothicus struck at the imperial mint in Antioch which surely commemorates the successful defense of Thessalonica against the great Gothic attack of 268 A.D.[27] Here Cabirus is the forerunner of Saint Demetrius and announces the new rôle of Thessalonica as an outpost and bastion of Mediterranean civilization against the barbarous north.[28] It is particularly to be emphasized that the coins attest the cult of only *one* Cabirus at Thessalonica.

Of the several hundred Greek inscriptions so far discovered in Salonica precisely one mentions the cult of Cabirus.[29] This fragmentary inscription has been published by Pelekides (no. 7 on p. 55) in the following form: . . . . . Λεύ[κιον] | νεωκόρ[ον τοῦ ἁ] | γιωτάτου πατρὸς | θεοῦ Καβείρ[ου] || ἐφηβαρχή [σαντα] | καὶ πολε [ιταρ] | χήσαντα . . . . . | Ποντιος . . . . . τὸν γλυκ[ύτατον] || [ἔ]κγονον. Pelekides' reading leads him to conclude that this text is evidence for the cult of *two* Cabiri, father and παῖς. This is possible, but the conclusion cannot be supported by this text. My reading of the stone is:

Fragment of a marble bomos, broken away top, right and back. Found in 1927 acting as a covering to a Byzantine water conduit on Odhos Kassandhrou between Odhos Ayias Sofias and Odhos Ayiou Nikolaou, now inv. no. 1696 in the Salonica Museum. H. (ext.) 0.99; W. (max. ext.) 0.41; Th. (max. ext.) 0.22. H. of letters 0.03 to 0.035; Vertical interspace ca. 0.015. Ligatures.
Photo: Fig. 7.

[c. 7–10. *βου*]
λεύ[*σαντα καὶ*]

[27] Percy H. Webb in vol. V, Part I, no. 204 on p. 228 of H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham, The Roman Imperial Coinage, London (1927); see also Nock, CAH, XII, p. 417.

[28] For Saint Demetrius as the protector of Thessalonica see now A. Vasiliev, "An Edict of the Emperor Justinian II, September, 688," Speculum, XVIII (1943), pp. 1–13.

[29] This is indeed an object lesson in the dangers of negative inference from chance epigraphic finds on a site which has not been the subject of careful, prolonged and systematic investigation.

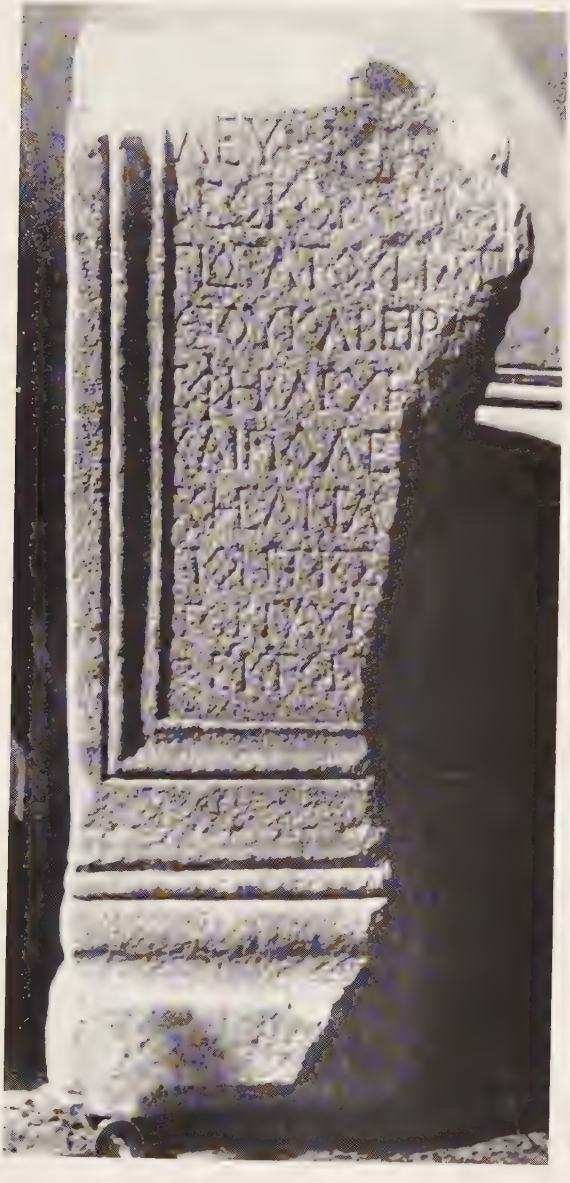

FIGURE NUMBER 7

νεωκορ[ήσαντα το]ῦ ἁ
γιωτάτου πατρί[ου]
θεοῦ Καβείρ[ου]
ἐφηβαρχή[σαντα]
καὶ πολε[ιταρ]
χήσαντα [. .c. 5 . .]
Ποντιος [. . .c. 6 . .]
τὸν γλυκ[ύτατον]
ἔκγον[ον]

FIGURE NUMBER 7

"[. . . him . . . who has been] a member of the Council, neokoros of the most holy ancestral god Cabirus, ephebarch and politarch, [. . .] Pontius [. . .] (honors) his sweetest grandson."

This fragment was found with twenty-five other bomoi (all with their backs broken away) acting as a covering to the conduit. Eighteen of these dedications honor priests and agonothetes of the Divine Fulvus, and I believe the individual for whom this altar was erected was also a priest of Fulvus (this title and his name of course appearing in the now missing upper portion of the stone), for the priesthood of Fulvus was on occasion associated with the ephebarchate.[30]

Line 1: Λεύ[κιον is inadmissible, for aside from the fact that it is rather unusual (though not unparalleled, see below p. 195) for a praenomen to be used in the place of a nomen or cognomen, the spelling of the name in third century Thessalonica is Λούκιος.

Line 2: This restoration assumes the extensive use of ligatures in the now missing portion of the line. The lower portion of the perpendicular bar of the upsilon is preserved at the end of the line as well as the left hasta of the (smaller) alpha which is cut on the right moulding.

Line 3: Pelekides' reading πατρός, with the final two letters unbracketed, is apparently a typographical error. In fact the upper half of the iota incised on the right moulding after the tau-rho ligature is certain. We must conclude that an omicron-upsilon ligature, in the form ◊ , was incised on the moulding to the right of the iota. This is by no means an uncommon practice on the inscribed bomoi of the city, particularly in the third century. The remaining lines require no epigraphic comment.

The text as revised gives no evidence for a πατὴρ Κάβειρος in Thessalonica. Instead we have ὁ ἁγιώτατος πάτριος θεὸς Κάβειρος.[31] Cabirus is "the most holy ancestral god" of the city, its

[30] See Edson, op. cit., pp. 135–36. See Addenda on p. 204.

[31] For ἅγιος see Eduard Williger, Hagios: Untersuchungen zur Terminologie des

particular and peculiar deity. One may note that the post of neokoros of Cabirus in third century Thessalonica was one of very considerable social distinction, for the neokoros here honored had been a member of the municipal council, ephebarch and politarch — one of the city's college of chief magistrates.

A dedicatory bomos of the first third of the third century A.D. is erected by the city of Thessalonica at its own expense (*τοῖς ἑαυτῆς τέλεσιν*) in honor of Claudius Rufrius Plotinus, the son of Claudius Meno,[32] *τοῦ ἱεροφαντοῦ*, for the consolation of the latter (*εἰς παραμυθίαν τοῦ πατρός*).[33] Claudius Meno was a most distinguished member of the municipal aristocracy. At the Gate of the Archangels (*Ἀσωμάτων*, — sometimes wrongly called the "Golden Gate," — the Turkish Telli Kapı) in the eastern wall of the city north of the Kassandreotic Gate Duchesne (op. cit., no. 52 on pp. 40–41 [D. 441 (477)]) found an opisthographic funerary bomos of the late second or third centuries erected by M. Herennius Orestinus for his parents M. Herennius Orestinus and Domitia Leontis. The two texts on the bomos are identical save that on one side the word *ἱεροφάντῃ* has been added to the father's name. With the second bomos Duchesne (op. cit., no. 117 on p. 75 [D. 752 (630)]) rightly associated an inscribed herm[34] which had been found by peasants in a field near the church of Ayios Mamas at the village of the same name in Chalcidice about eight kilometers north-northwest of Potidaea — Cassandreia in conjunction with architectural members of the Doric order, "ce qui donne à penser qu'il a pu y avoir en cet endroit un temple des Kabires."[35] Duchesne accurately reports the text, which reads: Καβείρωι . καὶ . ποιδὶ [vvv] | v 5 Καβείρου . M . Ἐρρ[ένιος] | Ὀρεστεῖνος Ὀρεστεί[νου του] | ἱεροφάντου υ̣ὸ̣[ς v̲ 5]. This is of course the same hiero-

Heiligen in der Hellenisch-Hellenistischen Religionen [Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, XIX Band, Heft 1], Giessen (1922). The adjective is rare except for deities from the Near East.

[32] See above p. 160, n. 4.

[33] P. N. Papageorgiou, *Ἀλήθεια*, 23 September 1906, no. 2 on p. 1 (Pelekides, p. 49, n. 1, *ε*); now inv. no. 1798 in the Salonica Museum. For civic consolation see the remarks of Nock, Harv. Theol. Rev., XXXIII (1940), p. 309. See Addenda on p. 204.

[34] I saw this stone on 10 June 1938. It was then lying loose inside the courtyard of the same tchiftlik, that of Alexandros Michael Bey at Ayios Mamas. There is no doubt whatever that this is a herm, not a "stèle." The head is broken off and the right front edge has been cut back removing the ends of the lines of the text which is inscribed just below the cutting for the phallus. H. (max. ext.) 1.51 W. 0.366 Th. 0.29 Top (ext.) of stone to top of first line 0.74 H. of letters decreasing irregularly from 0.02 to 0.016, phi 0.045 Vertical interspace lines 1–2 0.015, lines 3–4 0.025. The letter forms are conventional. No ligatures.

[35] Duchesne, loc. cit. See also Baege, De Macedonum Sacris, p. 180 and Edson, Classical Weekly, XXXII (1939), pp. 174–75.

phant who appears in the second epitaph at Thessalonica, and one is at first tempted to conclude, as Duchesne implies, that the post of hierophant is connected with the cult of Cabirus in that city. But it is difficult to hold that the elder Orestinus was hierophant in the municipal cult of Cabirus at Thessalonica and also at the shrine of the god near Ayios Mamas as well, although it is possible that the Herennii Orestini owned land in this region of Chalcidice, to the north of the territory of the Colonia Iulia Augusta Cassandrensis. Moreover here the title "hierophant" is given to the father of the dedicant, not to the dedicant himself, and hence, strictly interpreted, our dedication does not necessarily associate the post of hierophant with the cult of Cabirus at either Thessalonica or Ayios Mamas. In fact other evidence shows that the hierophant was connected with the provincial Koinon whose headquarters were at Beroea.

J. Roger has recently published [36] an honorary [37] bomos found at the village Kopach (now officially Βέργη) about nine kilometers west-northwest of Nigrita to the west of the Strymon. Julius Nicopolianus honors "his sweetest father" Julius Marcus, Macedoniarch, the son of Julius Ingenus Μακεδονιάρχου καὶ ἱεροφάντου καὶ πρώτου τοῦ ἔθνους. Since the first and third titles are clearly provincial in nature and have to do with the Koinon of the Macedonians whose Synhedrion met at Beroea, the title "hierophant" which is listed between them should also in this instance have to do with the Koinon, not with a particular and here quite unspecified city.[38] An inscription of Velvendhos, a village on the east bank of the Haliacmon about eleven kilometers northeast of Servia, runs:[39]

[36] J. Roger, "Inscriptions de la région du Strymon," Rev. Arch., Sixth Series, XXIV (July–December 1945), no number on pp. 40–42.

[37] Roger calls the bomos "une grande base funéraire." Unless there are on the top of the stone the characteristic cuttings for an ostotheke or similar receptacle (such cuttings are not mentioned by Roger), we clearly have to do with an honorary bomos. The funerary formula is not present. Roger has possibly been misled by the adjective γλυκύτατον which is of course extremely frequent in epitaphs but does occur also in dedications. Compare, for example, line 9 of the dedication honoring the neokoros of Cabirus discussed above, p. 193 ff.

[38] So Roger, op. cit., p. 42, following Robert.

[39] The text has been published, very inaccurately, only by K. Papakonstantinou in the Λαϊκὸς Ἀγών, a daily newspaper of Kozani, for 25 February 1934. I saw the stone on 24 June 1937. It acted then as the support of the altar top in the church of Saint Nicolas in Velvendhos. It is a smallish marble base with mouldings top and bottom. The upper right corner has been broken away and the stone has been damaged along the right edge. H. ca. 0.65 W. (max.) 0.56 Th. (max.) ca. 0.42 Top of stone to top of first line 0.175 H. of letters line 1 0.035, lines 2 ff. 0.03, phi 0.05 Vertical interspace 0.01 to 0.015. The letter forms are conventional except that the omicron is diamond-shaped. Ligatures: pi-rho, tau-epsilon, eta-sigma and tau-eta.

Δομίτιος . Εὐρύ[δικος]
ὁ Μακεδονιάρχη[ς]
καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς κα(ὶ) πρεσ
βυτεράρχης τῶν Ὀλυμ
πίων καὶ ἱεροφάντη[ς]

Domitius Eurydicus, the Macedoniarch, appears as the dedicator in one of the splendid series of honorary bomoi found at Verria, the ancient Beroea, during the recent war.[40] At the end of line 1 there is space for only a little more than two letters. I have assumed an omicron-sigma ligature in the form ⟨ , smaller than the other letters and fitting into the space between the two diagonal strokes of the kappa. As Macedoniarch Domitius was, seemingly, an official of the provincial Synhedrion. The title ἀρχιερεὺς probably refers to the position of "High Priest of the Augusti and Agonothete of the Koinon of the Macedonians" (ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης τοῦ κοινοῦ Μακεδόνων).[41] The title "presbyterarch" is to my knowledge new in Macedonia,[42] but here it is certainly a post connected with the "Olympian Games" held at Beroea. This designation for the provincial games appears under Gordian III,[43] and was given to them in 242 A.D. to counter, in so far as a name could do so, the new "Pythian Games" created at Thessalonica in 240.[44] In view of Domitius Eurydicus' other titles, all of which, with the possible though unlikely exception of ἀρχιερεύς, are connected with the activities of the provincial Koinon, we are to conclude that an hierophant was also associated more or less directly with the provincial cult of the emperors at Beroea.[45]

[40] Anzeiger, LVII (1942), no. 9 on p. 176 and Fig. 42; REG, LV (1942) [Bulletin épigraphique], p. 343.

[41] See, for example, M. Dimitsas, ἡ Μακεδονία, Athens (1896), no. 60 on p. 70; Orlandos, Ἀρχ. Δελτ., II (1916), no. 4 on pp. 148–50; Anzeiger, LVII (1942), no. 23 on p. 183. The most recent discussion of the Macedonian Koinon known to me is that of J. M. R. Cormack, "High Priests and Macedoniarchs from Beroea," JRS, XXXIII (1943), pp. 39–44. I note Cormack's statement on p. 40: "No infallible criterion can be evolved for distinguishing between ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν and simple ἀρχιερεύς, but, if the context mentions an *agonothesia* of the *Koinon*, we may perhaps assume that the high-priesthood is that of the *Koinon* too." The "Olympian Games" mentioned in the inscription of Velvendhos are in fact the games of the Koinon. See below.

[42] πρεσβυτεράρχης does not appear in LSJ.

[43] Gaebler, op. cit., 1ste Abteilung, Berlin (1906), p. 13.

[44] See above p. 191.

[45] The Sebastophant in the provinces of Asia (OGIS, no. 479, line 6 on p. 83), Bithynia and Pontus (op. cit., no. 528, line 11 on p. 189) and Galatia (op. cit., no. 540, line 10 on p. 213) is of course the flamen Augusti and hence is hardly relevant to the problem of the hierophant in the province of Macedonia.

We may now return to Claudius Meno, who is given the title hierophant in the first of the two bomoi of Thessalonica discussed above. In an inscription, now missing or destroyed, of the village Braniátes, about six kilometers northeast of Verria, the provincial Synhedroi honor Claudius (Rufrius) Plotinus, the same son of Claudius Meno. The father, Claudius Meno, is in this document called a Macedoniarch.[46] Thus, as one would expect in the case of a person of his eminence, Claudius Meno held a position of distinction in connection with the provincial Koinon [47] and very probably other posts also related to the provincial assembly. It therefore seems all but certain that the title "hierophant" which Claudius Meno bears in the dedication at Thessalonica refers to the provincial *ἱεροφαντία*, not to a priesthood of his native city. In any case there is no evidence whatsoever for an hierophant connected with the municipal cult of Cabirus at Thessalonica.[48]

In addition to the coins and the meagre epigraphic evidence there is, or was until the indiscriminate though partial demolition

[46] Published from a bad copy only in the *Ἐθνικός Ὁδηγός*, Athens (1920–21), *τεῦχος* 4, no number on p. 118. The stone is described as having been inside the narthex of the church of the Apostles Peter and Paul in Braniátes. In October 1936 Mr. J. M. R. Cormack and myself examined this church. Though we did not at the time know of this inscription, we surely would have seen it had it then been in the church. We were informed that an inscribed stone of unspecified nature had recently been removed from the church for use as building material in the village. The surface of the stone, clearly from the arrangement of the text a bomos, obviously had been badly damaged by the time the copy printed in the "National Guide" was made. The text is: *οἱ σύνεδροι* | Κλαύδιον Πλω|*τε*[*ῖνον υ*]*ἱὸν* | Κλ[*αυδίο*]*υ* Με|| *νω*[*νος τοῦ*] Μακε|*δονι*[*άρχο*]*υ* ΕΚ|ΠΑΙΑ . . . . ΙΑΝ|. . ΙΟΥ . . . . . CE| Γ . . . . . ||*ἐπι*[*μελη*]*θέν*|*τος* [*τῆς*] *ἀναστά*|*σεω*[*ς*' Ι]*ουλιανοῦ* | Μενάνδρου. I have reproduced the dots in lines 7 to 9 as they are given in the unique publication of this text, but it should be stated that they do not necessarily represent the number of missing letters with accuracy.

[47] I here intentionally avoid the issue as to the meaning of the title "Macedoniarch." In view of the very large number of Macedoniarchs now known for the late second and particularly the third centuries I feel it is quite unsound to draw hasty conclusions from such titles as "Asiarch" and "Lyciarch" attested elsewhere, for these terms are themselves still the subject of controversy. An added difficulty is that practically all our knowledge of the officials of the provincial Koinon in Macedonia is drawn from dedicatory altars whose language is ordinarily very far indeed from being precise. My present impression is that the Macedoniarchs were the members of the Synhedrion. In any case the office was elective; cf. Anzeiger, LVII (1942), no. 4 on p. 176: *ἐν προβολαῖς* | Μακεδονιαρ|*χικαῖς*.

[48] Roger (op. cit., p. 42), following a suggestion by Robert, remarks that the hierophant of the Koinon may have been connected with a provincial cult of Cabirus. The passages of Firmicus and Lactantius cited above (p. 188 and n. 2) probably indicate such a cult, but it is well to recall that Cabirus barely figures on the provincial coinage (Gaebler, op. cit., 1ste Abteilung, Berlin [1906], p. 16).

of the walls of Salonica in 1874,[49] an archeological monument of the first importance relating to the cult of the Dioscuri-Cabiri. This is the Roman gateway through the western wall of the city on the route of the Via Egnatia, the southernmost of the two western portals into the city of which the other was the Letaean Gate (Yeni Kapı). This "bel arc de l'époque romaine" [50] was the Golden Gate — Χρύσεα πύλη — of the Byzantines, known under Turkish rule as the "Vardar Gate." [51] The only adequate description of this monument is given by Leon Heuzey in his classic "Mission archéologique de Macédoine," [52] and reference may be made once and for all to his discussion. On the outside exterior of the two pilasters which supported the arch, that is, on each side of the gate visible to one entering the city from the west, was a relief. These two reliefs represented "deux cavaliers à la tête découverte et barbue (?),[53] au manteau agrafé sur une ample tunique, qui se tiennent debout, un long baton ou peut-être une lance dans la main, pendant que derrière eux la garde de leur cheval est confiée à un jeune esclave. Quelques-uns de ces traits s'écartent de la représentation ordinaire des Dioscures, auxquels on songe tout de suite et qui seraient ici bien à leur place, comme gardiens de l'une des portes de la ville. Cependant le souvenir des cavaliers jumeaux n'était probablement pas étranger à cette décoration."

In fact there can hardly be any doubt that the reliefs are intended to represent the Dioscuri. A Greek inscription cut on the inner face of one of the piers supporting the arch dates the construction of the gate by the college of six politarchs, the treasurer of the city and the gymnasiarch.[54] The extraordinarily elaborate letter forms and the fact that two of the politarchs and the stepfather (?) of a third are Roman citizens show that the inscription is hardly to be dated earlier than the beginning of the second cen-

[49] See Duchesne, op. cit., pp. 7–8.

[50] Leon Heuzey, Mission archéologique de Macédoine, Paris (1876), vol. I, p. 272.

[51] O. Tafrali, Topographie de Thessalonique, Paris (1913), pp. 102 ff.

[52] Vol. I, pp. 272–73, and vol. II, Planche 22^{bis}. Heuzey's plate is reproduced by Tafrali, op. cit., fig. 10 on p. 105.

[53] The drawings of these reliefs reproduced by Heuzey (Planche 22^{bis}) hardly support the suggestion that the heads were bearded.

[54] C. T. Newton, The Collection of the Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum, Part II, Oxford (1883), no. CLXXI on p. 32 [D. 364 (422)].

tury of our era.[55] We may conclude that the "Vardar Gate" was erected during the second century, a generation or more after the first appearance of Cabirus on the coins of the city. The representation of the Dioscuri on the gate, a structure erected by the city presumably at its own expense, sufficiently indicates the importance of these divinities in Thessalonica at this time. Their presence here suggests that they are thought of as the tutelary deities of the city. It is hardly necessary to recall that by the Roman period the conflation of the Dioscuri with the Cabiri was general.[56]

The names of the magistrates on the inner face of the pier of the arch are in the genitive (πολιταρχούντων κτλ.) which proves that this list was cut for the purpose of *dating* the construction of the gate.[57] This strongly suggests that there was another inscription which named the dedicant, that is, the city, and the deity to whom the gate was dedicated. Heuzey remarks, "Du côté qui fait face à la plaine [i.e. to the west], on distingue encore, au dessus de la frise ornée de guirlandes, un groupe de trois lettres latines, que j'ai lues VIO; mais l'état fruste de la pierre ne permet pas de decider si c'est un simple marque d'appareilleur ou si ces caractères faisaient partie d'une inscription que se continuait sur les autres blocs." But in this prominent position these large letters are hardly workmen's marks. Since one of the great military roads of the empire, the Via Egnatia, entered Thessalonica through this gate, a Latin dedicatory inscription, perhaps for an emperor, would not have been inappropriate.

There is, however, a fragment of a Greek inscription which just possibly may have to do with the gate. Duchesne (op. cit., no. 8 on p. 18–19

[55] I do not feel that Heuzey's suggestion (op. cit., p. 273) to the effect that the Dioscuri are here to be connected with two emperors, e.g. Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, is necessary for the elucidation of this monument.

[56] See Chapouthier, op. cit., pp. 180–83. One might argue that the appearance of the *two* Dioscuri on the Roman gateway is incompatible with the conclusion that a single Cabirus was worshipped in the municipal cult at Thessalonica (above pp. 192 and 193–4). Other divinities, the παῖς Καβείρου for example (above p. 194), may well have been associated with the cult, although certainly in a subordinate position. The appearance of the Dioscuri rather than Cabirus on the gateway is, I feel, to be motivated primarily by the nature of the monument. The pilasters on each side of the gate were accessible and appropriate for sculptural decoration and therefore invited complementary reliefs. This observation suffices to explain the appearance of the Dioscuri rather than Cabirus on the gateway.

[57] So Heuzey, op. cit., p. 272, ". . . la liste des *politarques*, ce qui s'explique, si ce n'était qu'une inscription complementaire, destinée à rappeler aux habitants l'année de la construction . . ."

[D. 381 (440)]) has published the following fragment: "Fragment d'architrave encastré au ras du sol actuel dans le mur de la ville, à gauche *en sortant de la porte du Vardar* (italics mine). Cette architrave est divisée en trois bandes en saillie les unes sur les autres; les lettres, de 0^m, 075 de hauteur, sont tracées sur la bande supérieure, et s'arrêtent à la moitié de la pierre qui a 2^m, 20 de longueur sur 0^m, 32 de haut. Tout à côté il y a un autre fragment semblable de 2 mètres de long et sans inscription." The dimensions of these fragments are not those of any of the architectural members of the gate proper.[58] Nevertheless, their location in the immediate vicinity of the "Vardar Gate" and their size, which makes it unlikely, though by no means impossible, that they were transported from elsewhere in the city, suggest at least the possibility that this fragmentary architrave may have been associated with the gate. The size of the letters definitely indicates a monumental inscription. The preserved text was: ΣΙΝΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ. It is by far the more probable that the three letters extant before the verb are the remains of a dative plural of the third declension rather than of an accusative singular. Moreover, it is on the whole unlikely that the dedicant of so large a building was a private individual. With great reserve I submit as a mere possibility the restoration: [ἡ πόλις θεοῖς σωτῆρ]σιν ἀνέθηκεν. The combined length of the two fragments of the architrave was well over four meters (it is not known if they joined), and, in view of the modest height (0.32) of the architrave, any restoration very much longer than that proposed can hardly be seriously entertained. Another, though I feel less likely, possibility is of course θεοῖς πᾶ]σιν.

The archeological [59] and the slight epigraphic evidence combines with that of the coins to demonstrate that the worship of Cabirus was the chief and most highly publicized cult of Thessalonica since the last years of the first century A.D. at the latest, and thus clarifies and explains the statement of Firmicus Maternus quoted at the beginning of this study. But the sentences of Firmicus (loc. cit.) immediately preceding our quotation give some information regarding the actual "legend" of the god as it appeared in the cult of Thessalonica: In sacris Corybantum parricidium colitur. Nam unus frater a duobus interemptus est et, ne quod indicium necem fraternae mortis aperiret, sub radicibus Olympi montis a parricidis

[58] See the plan of the gate drawn with measurements by H. Daumet in Heuzey, op. cit., vol. II, Planche 22^{bis}.

[59] The view of the older travellers that the great early Byzantine church of Saint George had originally been the temple of Cabirus rests on no evidence whatever. See Tafrali, Topographie, pp. 155 ff.

fratribus consecratur. Hunc eundem Macedonum colit stulta persuasio. Hic est Cabirus cui Thessalonicenses quondam cruento cruentis manibus supplicabant. "In the rites of the Corybants parricide is worshipped. For two brothers murdered their third brother, and, lest some disclosure should reveal the murderous circumstances of their brother's death, he was consecrated by his two parricide brothers beneath the foothills of Olympus. This is he whom the Macedonians' fatuous superstition reveres. This is the ensanguined Cabirus whom the men of Thessalonica with bloodstained hands once adored." Firmicus unequivocally attributes this story of the slaying of the Corybas-Cabirus by his two brothers and his burial and "consecration" beneath the slopes of Olympus to the cult at Thessalonica.[60] Clement of Alexandria gives another and very similar version which, however, has no reference to Thessalonica.[61] "If you would like a vision of the Corybantic orgies also, this is the story. Two of the Corybantes slew a third one, who was their brother, covered the head of the corpse with a purple cloak, and then wreathed and buried it, bearing it upon a brazen shield to the skirts of Mount Olympus (*φέροντες ἐπὶ χαλκῆς ἀσπίδος ὑπὸ τὰς ὑπωρείας τοῦ Ὀλύμπου*). Here we see what the mysteries are, in one word, murders and burials (*φόνοι καὶ τάφοι*)! The priests of these mysteries, whom such as are interested call 'Presidents of the Princes' rites' (*Ἀνακτοτελεστάς*), add a portent to the dismal tale. They forbid wild celery, root and all, to be placed on the table, for they actually believe that wild celery grows out of the blood that flowed from the murdered brother. . . . The Corybantes are also called by the name Cabeiri, which proclaims the rite of the Cabeiri. . . ." Reference to this same story is clearly present in the Orphic Hymn XXXIX, to the Corybant (lines 5–6): — *αἰολόμορφον ἄνακτα, θεὸν διφυῆ, πολύμορφον, | φοίνιον, αἱμαχθέντα κασιγνήτων ὑπὸ δισσῶν* "— lord of changeful form, two-natured god, manifold, bloodstained, slaughtered by his two brothers."[62] The *single*

[60] So taken by Baege, op. cit., p. 178 and Kern, RE, X, cols. 1415–17. But of course it does not follow that this cult story was limited exclusively to Thessalonica.

[61] Protrep., II, 16 P; cited by Baege, op. cit., p. 177 and Kern, op. cit., col. 1416. The translation quoted is that of G. W. Butterworth in the "Loeb Classical Library."

[62] But I feel that Kern, op. cit., col. 1416, goes much too far in asserting that

Cabirus who appears on the coins of Roman Thessalonica and who is called "the most holy ancestral god" in the one inscription of the city which mentions the god is quite certainly the Cabirus who was slain by his two brothers and buried in the lower reaches of Olympus.

It is perhaps worth pointing out, very briefly, that this cult "legend" is definitely connected with, and possibly derived from, an older story, that of Orpheus. Pieria, the region around the northern slopes of Olympus, was the home country of Orpheus par excellence.[63] The association of Orpheus with this region could be alluded to by Euripides in his Bacchae (lines 560–64) as well known,[64] and it is very frequently mentioned in other sources.[65] It was here that Orpheus was killed by the bacchantes,[66] and, by ca. 225 B.C. at the latest,[67] it was held that the grave of Orpheus was located on the northern slopes of Olympus.[68] The story of the slain Cabirus who was buried beneath Olympus by his two fratricide brothers as it appears in the cult "legend" at Thessalonica thus shows clear signs of conflation with that of Orpheus. Kern has remarked,[69] "In Cabirorum cultu Samothracio religionis

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"der XXXIX orphische Hymnos auf den Κορύβας aus dem Kult von Thessalonike stammt." If such were the case, the hymn would be addressed to Cabirus rather than Corybas. Arnobius, Adv. nat., V, 19 (cited by Baege, op. cit., pp. 177–8 and Kern, op. cit., col. 1416) refers to a variant of the same story.

[63] Ziegler, RE, XVIII, col. 1230: "So verlegen denn die meisten und frühesten Zeugnisse die Heimat des O(rpheus) in das als Teil Thrakiens angesehene nordöstliche Vorland des Olymp, das alte Pierien, die Heimat der Musen."

[64] See E. R. Dodds (Euripides: Bacchae, Oxford 1944, pp. 119–20) in his commentary to lines 409–11, who very rightly emphasizes that the Bacchae was, almost certainly, first performed at Dion in Pieria.

[65] So Timotheus, Persae, lines 234–36: *πρῶτος ποικιλόμουσον 'Ορ|φεὺς χέλυν ἐτέκνωσεν, | υἱὸς Καλλιόπας, Πιερίας ἔπι.* See also e.g. Strabo, VII, frag. 17; X, 3, 17; Plutarch, Alexander, 14; Arrian, Anab., I, 11, 2 and Palaephatus, XXXIII [Festa, Mythographi Graeci, III, 2, p. 50]. These and the following references are intended to be merely illustrative and make no pretense to completeness. I am aware that Orpheus and aspects of his story, such as his death and his tomb, are also associated with other regions — although by no means to the same extent —, but this is without significance for my present argument.

[66] Strabo, VII, frag. 18; Conon, XLV in Fr. Gr. Hist., vol. I, No. 26, F 1 (on p. 207); Pausanias, IX, 30, 8.

[67] Damagetus, A. P., VII, 9, lines 1–2: *"Ορφεα Θρηϊκίῃσι παρὰ προμολῇσιν 'Ολύμπου | τύμβος ἔχει ....* For the date of Damagetus see now P. Friedländer, AJP, LXIII (1942), pp. 78–82.

[68] Conon, loc. cit.; Pausanias, IX, 30, 7–11; Diogenes Laertius, I, 5.

[69] To Orphicorum Fragmenta, T. 105 on p. 31.

Orphicae extant vestigia nulla." This statement does not hold true of the cult of Cabirus in Roman Thessalonica.[70]

In a brilliantly written discussion H. Gelzer has considered the rôle played by Saint Demetrius in the religious life of Byzantine Thessalonica [71] and has argued "dass Demetrios an Stelle des alten Stadtgottes von Thessalonike getreten ist, und dessen Funktionen mit der grössten Gewissenhaftigkeit verrichtet." [72] To Gelzer Saint Demetrius is essentially a not very successfully sublimated pagan deity.[73] This is not a matter on which I can pretend to possess competence, but I imagine there are few today who would unequivocally accept Gelzer's conclusions, at least in the uncompromising form in which they are stated. Nevertheless, in view of the dominant rôle of the Saint in the life of Christian Thessalonica, it is interesting and probably significant that the chief religious cult of the city in the late pagan period was precisely that of a single male deity, the Cabirus. We have already seen (above p. 192) that it was Cabirus who was the patron and protector of Thessalonica during the great siege of the city by the Goths in 268 A.D. and who thus, at that moment of trial and crisis when the future existence of the city was at stake, fulfilled those same functions which Saint Demetrius was to discharge in later centuries.[74] I do not of course argue that the cult of the Saint was in any im-

[70] Kern does, however, suggest the presence of Orphic elements in the Kabirion at Thebes; loc. cit. and RE, X, col. 1440.

The remark of Himerius (V, 6 [ed. Dübner] = Kern, Orph. Frag., T. 36 on p. 12), in a rhetorical exhibition delivered at Thessalonica, to the effect that Orpheus was carried off from that city to the Thracian mountains is in no sense evidence for "Orphism" at Thessalonica nor for any connection of the Orpheus story with the city, for, Himerius goes on to say, it was the lack of a cultivated audience such as he would have had at Thessalonica which caused him as a second best to create his "assembly of wild beasts" (*θηρίων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*). And Himerius had already implied, and not ineptly, at least from the merely geographic point of view, that the citizens of Thessalonica were "true neighbors of Pieria" (*τῇ Πιερίᾳ γνήσιοι γείτονες*).

[71] H. Gelzer, Die Genesis der Byzantinischen Themenverfassung, Sächs. Abh., XVIII (1899), Nr. V, pp. 53–64. I owe this reference to the kindness of my colleague, Professor Robert L. Wolff.

[72] Op. cit., p. 55.

[73] Op. cit., p. 54: "Der Typus einer solchen Paganisierung des Christentums ist nun vor allem der hl. Demetrios. Er ist gleichsam die Personifikation oder die Fleischwerdung des antiken, griechischen Polisgedankens. Wie Apollon und Herakles führt er den Beinamen Sosipolis." Cf. also p. 53: "Das ganze Christentum der Thessalonikeer besteht nur [sic!] in Demetrioskult."

[74] See Gelzer's discussion of the epithets of the Saint, op. cit., pp. 55–62.

portant sense "derived" from that of Cabirus. But it is very possible that the cult of Cabirus contributed elements to the characteristic form which the worship of Saint Demetrius assumed in the later Christian city.[75]

[75] It is to be hoped that some competent scholar will investigate the possibility of iconographic similarity between the representations of Cabirus on the coins of the Roman city (above, pp. 190–91) and those of the Saint in the Byzantine age. It is at least clear that both the pagan god and the Saint (Gelzer, op. cit., pp. 61–2) are ordinarily represented as wearing the chlamys.

ADDENDA

Addition to note 10 on p. 156.

[For *σηεῖρα* see also Poland, RE, Zweite Reihe, III, cols 1586–92. Poland finds difficulties in Wilhelm's restoration of lines 2–3 of IG, XII, 2, 511 and suggests *τ[ά] | [ἰε]ρὰ*, which gives good sense but is not compatible with the preserved text as reported by Paton. Although Poland concedes that Hecate is attested as the deity of speirai, he emphasizes that Dionysus is ordinarily the god worshipped by these societies (col. 1589: "Als gefeierte Gottheit wird fast ausschliesslich Dionysos genannt. Auch wo der Gott nicht erwähnt wird, werden wir . . . an ihn als Kultgott zu denken haben.") and that the oriental gods are to be excluded from any connection with speirai. Robert (Hellenica II [Paris 1946], pp. 130–32) has recovered another instance of a speira from Kara Orman in Thrace. The presence of an archimystes in this text makes its connection with Dionysus practically certain.

Addendum referred to in note 43a on p. 170.

[43a. I owe to Professor N. O. Brown the following reference to Bekker, Anecdota, I, p. 242: *δρῦν φέρειν διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς: τὸ τοὺς ἀπολευθερωθέντας δούλους καὶ ἄλλους βαρβάρους κλάδον δρυὸς ἕκαστον διὰ τῆς ἀλορᾶς ἐν τῇ τῶν Παναθηναίων ἑορτῇ φέρειν.*]

Addition to note 30 on p. 193.

[See now Robert, Hellenica II (Paris 1946), pp. 37–42. Robert reaches the same conclusion but rightly suggests as a more plausible possibility for the Divine Fulvus the son of Marcus Aurelius who died in 165 at the age of four. The close association, not necessarily the identity, of the priesthood of Fulvus with the ephebarchate is now certainly demonstrated by an inscription of 206 A.D. found at the church of St. Demetrius and recently published by Makaronas in the *Ἐπιτηρὶς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς* of Salonica University, VI (1948), pp. 301–3: *ἀγαφῆι τύχηι | [ἐφηβ]εύσαντες ἐν τῷ ηλσ' |[Σεβ. τῷ] καὶ δντ' ἔτει, ἐπεὶ |[ἱρέω]ς καὶ ἀγωνοθέτου ||[θεοῦ Φ]ούλβου Αὐτου Αὐρηλί|[ου Κλα]υδιανοῦ νέου, ἐφη|[βαρχο]ῦντος Ἀλείου Νικι|[ανοῦ? Β]άσσου, ἐπιμελουμέ|[νων τῶ]ν ἐφήβων Ἑρμ[2–3]||[5–6] Μαξίμο[υ] Π[c. 5]*. The remainder of the stone, which contained the list of the ephebes, is missing.]

Addition to note 33 on p. 194.

[For further remarks on civic consolation see Robert, Hellenica III (Paris 1946), pp. 15 ff.]

WATTS IN AMERICA

Bicentenary Reflections on the Growth of Watts' Reputation in America

Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin in a recent address told of a student at Union Theological Seminary who persistently refused to come to chapel. Queried on his absence by Dr. Coffin, the student replied that he could not approve the hymns which were sung in James Chapel because many of them did not teach sound doctrine. In order to satisfy the student's conscience, Dr. Coffin suggested he come on a day when only the hymns of Watts would be used. The student's devastating remark finished any attempt to bring him to chapel: "I don't consider Watts really 'safe,'" he blandly asserted.[1]

With the bicentenary of Watts' death in 1948, attention may well be directed again to the struggle which finally assured Watts' "unsafe" Hymns (1707–1709) and his Psalms of David Imitated (1719) their lasting hold on the Christian public's affections. It is not generally recognized nowadays that whole churches were once divided in acrimonious debate, and presbyteries split apart over the introduction of Watts. A secession in Kentucky threatened to split the Presbyterian Church in that state into pro-Watts and anti-Watts camps.[2] Members elsewhere seceded from individual churches when forcible attempts were made to introduce Watts.[3] One minister in Delaware, the records show, came near losing his entire congregation when he attempted to introduce Watts.[4] In 1789 the issue developed national proportions when General Assembly was overtured to exclude Watts from all public worship services in the Presbyterian Church. And these instances are only a few among many of like tenor.

Why, one may ask, all this early opposition to Isaac Watts' two collections, written, as they were, by an admittedly mild spirited Independent, who nowadays has so won his way into the affections of even the most conservative circles as to have gained among them the name of having been a "Catholic reformer?"[5]

Watts, as everyone knows, intended his collection for the entire Christian public, and therefore sedulously strove to avoid all matter which might stir doctrinal controversy. With the express purpose of pleasing even the most cantankerous, he wrote during the composition of his Psalms of David Imitated to no less a personage than Cotton Mather, seeking advice on the versifying of scripture.[6] Since Watts knew several

editions of the Bay State Psalm Book which had been reprinted in England,[7] he already had an insight into the desperate zeal of the Puritan heart in its search for a metrical and yet also a literal translation of the Psalms. It has been generally recognized that not even the infelicities of Sternhold and Hopkins approached the poetical crudities of the Bay State Psalm Book.[8] But literalness and not poetic grace was the *sine qua non* for the Puritan mind.[9]

Watts himself eschewed any attempt at exact literalness.[10] He frankly admitted that he changed David into a Christian. And just here was the fatal defect of Watts in the opinion of his earlier critics. Despite his efforts to please Cotton Mather and others, eventually he lived to discover that, at least in his own time, it proved impossible to be all things to all men. Cotton Mather in later life bitterly denounced Watts on the score of doctrinal laxity, and fulminated against the coming vogue of Watts' psalmody. Mather's own painful rendering of the Psalms which he ventured to impose upon the New England public provided only one more example of the impossibility of clothing the Psalms in the garb of meter and rime while preserving the exact sense of the original. In the colonies as a whole, however, the Watts version of the Psalms met most prolonged opposition from the supporters not of the Bay State Psalm Book, but rather of the Rous version. Rous, an English lawyer, had written a miserably literal translation devoid of grace and beauty, but a version dear to the hearts of Scotch Dissenters after the Erskine-Gillespie pattern; Rous' metrical version satisfied their demand for absolute scriptural fidelity. Watts, who knew the licenses which he took with scripture, all in the interests of an "Evangelical Psalmody," heartily desired the use of the Psalms in literal translation, but in prose version without the distortions which a literal reduction to meter inevitably entailed.[11] He knew that poetry to be sung must be intelligible to the common man, and therefore realized the need for dividing the verse into units of single lines in each of which the sense would be complete. Rous' version, like other bad liturgical expedients, was finally displaced, but the displacement took time.

"Watts strove through all his career to modify the rigidity of psalmody and to bring into the worship of the church, through his Psalms, the softer notes of Christianity." [12] In his effort to "make David speak like an English Christian of the eighteenth century," [13] Watts freely confessed he often found himself obliged not only to soften but even to change the literal meaning of those psalms which he undertook to versify. In order to bring the Psalms up to date, Watts omitted those references to vengeance and wrath which nowadays often offend Chris-

tian ears, and left out all those obscure allusions which tend to interrupt the free flow of Christian devotion. Watts frequently inserted Christ's name into his Psalms of David where eighteenth century exegesis suggested a Messianic interpretation.

Relying upon the strength of Watts' own example modern adapters of Watts have often as not brought him still further up-to-date so that in such hymns as "Alas, and Did My Saviour Bleed" one now finds numerous mollifications of Watts' "antiquated" Calvinistic expressions. "For Such a Worm as I" becomes, "For Sinners Such as I"; the word "crimes" which Watts used in his original version is omitted, and a whole verse of too self-abasing a character from "Alas, and Did My Saviour Bleed" is left out of present day hymnals.[14] If Watts with perfect freedom could transpose the references to Canaan in the Psalms of the Bible to Britain in his Psalms of David Imitated,[15] modern adapters of Watts are but following in his footsteps when they change Watts from an "orthodox" into a "liberal" Christian.

The Psalms in his collection (which is incomplete because he omits certain ones as "unworthy" of paraphrase)[16] are written in two and sometimes three versions for each Psalm, using L.M., C.M., S.M., long meter, common meter and short meter.[17] The expectation Watts entertained was that only a very limited number of tunes would be available in any individual congregation, and his expectation proved entirely correct with respect to the American colonies and to New England, particularly, where singing had fallen into desuetude, and in some places, absolute decay.[18] His choice of only a limited number of meters was conditioned by his desire that congregations everywhere, no matter how destitute of musical culture, might sing his Psalms.

But despite his intention of pleasing the mob ("the metaphors are generally sunk to the level of vulgar capacities," "these hymns are written for the common sort, the meanest of 'em"),[19] Watts did not write a collection that immediately found ready sale in the colonies. Thirty editions of the Psalms of David Imitated, records show, were issued in the American colonies before 1800,[20] but in the early years of the century the sales were so slow that Benjamin Franklin complained he couldn't get the book off his shelves.[21]

With the advent of sentiment against Great Britain it proved necessary to reissue the Psalms in the colonies with certain references to Britain as the chosen people's land omitted, and with other notably patriotic sentiments excised.[22] These excisions were made first by Barlow in Connecticut, and for a time his version was universal among the Connecticut Congregationalists, but when Barlow fell victim to a reputa-

tion for Arianism his version was withdrawn by the Congregationalists, although it lingered longer in the affections of the Presbyterians.[23] In its place the version by President Timothy Dwight of Yale was issued with the approval first of the Congregationalists, and later of the Presbyterians.

Not the least formidable of the opponents of Watts in America were the Episcopalians. Dr. White, later first Bishop of Pennsylvania, would never permit a hymn of Watts, or of any other author for that matter, to be sung in church with the one possible exception of a hymn sung in church on Christmas Day.[24] The early actions of General Convention all illustrate a blind devotion, not to Rous, of course, but to Tate and Brady, and in England the opposition to Watts was even more intense. William Romaine voiced the prevailing notion within the English Church as late as 1775 when he bitterly denounced Watts: "My concern is to see Christian congregations shut out divinely inspired Psalms, and take in Doctor Watts' flights of fancy. . . . Why should Dr. Watts, or any hymn-maker, not only take precedence over the Holy Ghost, but also thrust Him entirely out of the church?" [25] Romaine's objections were but the logical outcome of that bitter antagonism towards dissent which marred the eighteenth century.

Earlier in the century the pattern had been set when John Wesley published what some authorities now call the first Anglican hymnal,[26] a hymnal prepared by Wesley in Georgia, and tested there from manuscript.[27] Published at Charlestown anonymously in 1737, his collection had already aroused vehement protest against Wesley while he was still in Savannah (Wesley's collection of seventy Psalms and Hymns was largely comprised of excerpts from Watts' Hymns and Psalms). To add to his cup of gall during those disastrous months in the New World, Wesley himself at the hour of his departure was charged before a Georgia Grand Jury with subverting prayer-book standards, and more specifically with "attempting to introduce into the church psalms and hymns not inspected or authorized by any proper judicature." [28]

Wesley, upon his return to England after the futile Georgia missionary campaign, enlarged his hymnal of 1737, and issued it with several felicitous changes in the wording of Watts' familiar hymns.[29] It was Wesley who changed the second line of "When I Survey the Wondrous Cross" from Watts' "Where the young Prince of Glory Died" to "On which the Prince of Glory Died." Also from his pen was the change of "Our God, Our Help in Ages Past" to "O God, Our Help in Ages Past." [30]

As intimated earlier, the most serious difficulties which Watts' version met in finding acceptance in America were not associated with events

in any of the thirteen original colonies, but rather with stormy happenings in Kentucky during the last decades of the eighteenth century. Here arose a vitriolic opponent of Watts within the Presbyterian ranks, a man by the name of Rankin. Unable to expunge Watts from the public worship of the church, Rankin, a proponent of the old ways, finally led a large seceding group out of the Presbyterian church.[31] Watts for him was insincere, unfaithful, to the Bible, not effectual to salvation.[32] Strange criticism of the very hymn-writer whom Whitefield and other leaders of the Great Awakening had found most valuable in the saving of souls! [33] Rankin's schism was only one open manifestation of the smouldering fire of resentment against novelty which burned in the hearts of those many dissenting Scotch immigrants who carried to the new world all the antagonisms they had inherited from the fractions of the Scottish Church in 1732 and 1752.[34]

But as time wore on, the reception of Watts in America grew more and more cordial, and finally became unanimous. When the Reverend Samuel Worcester attempted in 1815 to issue a collection of Watts wherein certain favorites were omitted, the protest was so loud that the frightened Worcester was obliged hastily to withdraw his abbreviated edition with apologies to the offended public, and with the promise to redeem himself with an edition of Watts entire.[35] Watts' name when no longer a novelty with the church public became sacrosanct. Hymnody in English speaking lands became a Watts preserve. Today the Episcopalian Hymnal contains more hymns by Watts than by any other author with the exceptions of Charles Wesley and John Mason Neale.[36] Neale's hymns are, of course, translations from Latin and Greek originals. The Presbyterian Hymnal lists twenty hymns by Watts and fifteen by Charles Wesley.[37] Watts may not have invented the English hymn, as authorities have on occasion averred,[38] but his name is indelibly associated with the most popular hymns of the language. According to Matthew Arnold, no friend of hymnody but a responsible literary critic, the greatest hymn in the language remains "When I Survey the Wondrous Cross." [39] "O God, Our Help in Ages Past" was used as the keynote hymn in 1946 for the Princeton Bicentennial.[40] It was similarly used at the Harvard Tercentennial in 1936, and at the Yale Bicentennial in 1901.

The American churches today share nothing in common as they share Watts. His hymns are used by every denomination, and his irenic purposes, though belatedly, have shown fruitage a thousandfold. He admittedly wrote for the "meanest of 'em" and held dim views on peculiar denominational beliefs, but he had obtained his reward. No public

meeting of different sectarian groups finds so ready a common denominator nowadays as the Christmas hymn of Watts, "Joy to the World" (originally a Psalm paraphrase), or his "Jesus Shall Reign Where'er the Sun" (another Psalm paraphrase), or again, "Alas, and Did My Saviour Bleed" and "When I Survey the Wondrous Cross." What Dr. Johnson said of Watts two hundred years ago has finally become the accepted verdict in all English speaking lands today: "Watts has provided instructions for all ages, from those who are lisping their first lessons to the enlightened readers of Malebranche and Locke; he has left neither corporeal nor spiritual nature unexamined; he has taught us the art of reasoning and the science of the stars." [41]

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1. Remarks before the New Orleans Ministerial Association meeting at Arnaud's in New Orleans, January, 1946.
2. Robert Davidson, History of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky, New York, 1847, 88–98.
3. Charles A. Briggs, American Presbyterianism, New York, 1885, 278.
4. Samuel Miller, Life of Samuel Miller, D.D., LL.D., Philadelphia, 1869, volume I, 22.
5. Winfred Douglas, Church Music in History and Practice, New York, 1937, 226.
6. George Hood, A History of Music in New England, Boston, 1846, 155.
7. Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 2nd series, vol. IX, 397 and 401.
8. The New International Encyclopedia, 2nd edition, New York, 1914, vol. II, 793.
9. Henry W. Foote, Three Centuries of American Hymnody, Cambridge, 1940, 68.
10. I. Watts, Hymns and Spiritual Songs, London, 1709, vii.
11. Ibid., vi.
12. W. C. Covert, Handbook to The Hymnal, Philadelphia, 1935, 33.
13. Ibid., 33.
14. Watts, Hymns, London, 1709, 136. The Hymnal, Philadelphia, 1933, no. 249.

15. Louis F. Benson, The Hymnody of the Christian Church, New York, 1927, 198.
16. L. F. Benson, The English Hymn, Philadelphia, 1915, 119.
17. I. Watts, Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs, Boston, 1846, 51–288.
18. H. W. Foote, op. cit., 74.
19. Watts, Hymns and Spiritual Songs, London, 1709, viii.
20. L. F. Benson, The English Hymn, 163.
21. A. H. Smythe's edition of Franklin's Writings, New York, 1905, vol. II, 173.
22. L. F. Benson, The English Hymn, 166.
23. Op. cit., 194.
24. Douglas, op. cit., 261.
25. Hymns Ancient and Modern (Historical Edition), London, 1909, cxii.
26. Douglas, op. cit., 235.
27. Ibid., 235.
28. Quoted in Douglas, 235.
29. Benjamin Brawley, History of the English Hymn, New York, 1932, 74.
30. Handbook to The Hymnal, 92.
31. Davidson, op. cit., 97.
32. Ibid., 96.
33. Albert Belden, George Whitefield, London, n.d., 62.
34. Briggs, op. cit., 254.
35. Benson, The English Hymn, 168.
36. The Hymnal of the P. E. Church, New York, 1940.
37. The Hymnal, Philadelphia, 1933.
38. David R. Breed, History and Use of Hymns and Hymn-Tunes, New York, 1903, 99.
39. Louis F. Benson, The Best Church Hymns, Philadelphia, 1898, 5.
40. Bicentennial Service, The Archbishop of Canterbury preaching, October, 1946.
41. Handbook to the Hymnal, op. cit., 406.

NEOTERA

A small gem in the possession of Mr. Henri Seyrig, Director of the French Archaeological Institute in Beyrouth, may be briefly described as follows:[1]

Obverse. Inscription in five lines, *μέγα τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου* Σάραπις. Crescent moon under the last line.

Reverse. Inscription in six and a half lines, *μεγάλη τύχη τῆς ἀνικήτου νεωτέρας*. Star after the last letter.

Brown and dark green jasper. Upright oval, 18 x 13 mm.

The obverse inscription, without *κυρίου*, encircles a bust of Sarapis engraved on a jasper in the British Museum; see British Museum Quarterly, 11, 33–34. Several more examples, all omitting *κυρίου*, are cited by Peterson (Heis Theos, 208 f.). Almost all of them treat the name Σάραπις as indeclinable. Evidently the sentence is a common acclamation, which requires no further comment.

The inscription on the reverse, which has not been found elsewhere in just this form, needs closer examination. Although a careless engraver might easily have left out the article before *τύχη*, we have no right to insert it. Examples cited by Peterson (op. cit., 204) show that it was occasionally omitted. But who is the "invincible Younger Goddess"? Since the obverse inscription is an acclamation to Sarapis, one would expect the goddess addressed on the reverse to be Isis, and the opening words call to mind her association with Tyche; but *μεγάλη τύχη* is only an acclamation here, and there are other difficulties. The following points are to be considered.

1. The epithet *ἀνίκητος* tells us nothing, since it was given to human beings in high places as well as to the gods.

2. Τύχη with genitive of person, a phrase in which it is much like the Latin *genius*, occurs far oftener in connection with men of exalted rank than with gods. Peterson (op. cit. 204) gives two examples of the *τύχη* of divinities, both in acclamations, whereas the *τύχη* of men, especially of the emperor, is mentioned many times; the instances run to several

[1] The inscription which gave the occasion for these remarks was brought to the attention of Mr. Bonner by a letter from Mr. Seyrig, into whose hands the stone had recently come, and to whom we are indebted for his generous permission to publish it. In preparing to do so, Mr. Bonner found that the data needed for the interpretation of the text had been gathered by Mr. Nock in the course of other investigations (JHS 45 [1925], 94, n. 84; 48, 36–37), and therefore prevailed upon Mr. Nock to join him in signing this note.

scores.[2] The word seems more appropriate to use of human beings than of the immortals. Still, in the Paris magical papyrus Selene is addressed as τύχη θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων (PGM IV, 2665).

3. Except in the case of Kore, daughter of Demeter, it is not easy to see why any goddess, Greek or Egyptian, should be called "the younger."[3]

In view of these difficulties we must allow that νεωτέρα may refer to some woman whom official flattery made into a "junior" to a goddess. Since the amulet seems to belong to Roman times — the letter-forms indicate the second or the third century — one naturally thinks first of a Roman empress. Meanwhile it is to be observed that if the inscription does refer to Isis, she may be identified with Hathor, as happened often in the Roman period.[4] A Dendera inscription of A.D. 98 (CIG 4716c) dedicates certain repairs to a Νεωτέρα θεὰ μεγίστη, who is Aphrodite-Hathor, as appears from l. 18, where the goddess is called Ἀφροδίτη θεὰ νεωτέρα, and from No. 4716, also found at Dendera.[5]

It was apparently on the evidence of the Dendera inscription that Grenfell explained the Neotera several times mentioned in P. Oxy. 1449 as Hathor. That papyrus, a return of temple property, mentions temples of Neotera, and lists a statue of her and numerous votive offerings; but it gives no clue to the identity of the goddess. We know no texts that certainly give the epithet νεωτέρα to a goddess as entitled to it in her own right, except inscriptions that refer to Kore as opposed to Demeter; examples are to be seen in IG² II, 1, 1672, lines 300–301; IG² II, 2, 3546 and 3585.

On the other hand, just as Ptolemy Auletes was called νέος Διόνυσος, Cleopatra VII was called νέα Ἶσις (Plut. Ant. 54, 9), and on her coins

[2] Preisigke, Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyri, s.v. τύχη, c; Liddell-Scott-Jones, s.v. τύχη, IV, 1.

[3] The fact that Isis is called νέα in an uncertain locality, perhaps Patmos (P. Oxy. 1380, 85), is of little weight. The epithets of Hera at Stymphalos (παῖς, τελεία, χήρα, Paus. 8. 22.2) have no bearing upon the present question. They refer to the different stages of woman's life, over which Hera presided; or to put it in another way, they represent the age-groups of her worshippers.

Several years ago Professor Kirsopp Lake gave Mr. Bonner a memorandum of a painted inscription found at Samaria along with a statue of Kore. It reads as follows: εἷς θεὸς ὁ πάντων δεσπότης, μεγάλη Κόρη ἡ ἀνείκητος. The text is subject to correction, since the final publication has not appeared, and no copy of the preliminary report is accessible to us. It is noteworthy that although the form of the acclamation in honor of Kore is like that on the reverse of Mr. Seyrig's amulet, the goddess is not called νεωτέρα.

[4] A. Erman, Religion der Ägypter, 390.

[5] In his comment on 4716c Franz held that the "younger goddess" of l.18 was Plotina, wife of Trajan, believing that a small temple was dedicated to her in the neighborhood of the great temple of Hathor-Aphrodite. No evidence has been found to confirm this opinion.

of Berytus and Cyrenaica there is the legend θεὰ νεωτέρα.[6] For this reason Lord Southesk gave the name Isis-Cleopatra to an interesting figure on a sard in his collection (Catalogue, K 7, Pl. 11); it represents Isis reclining on a couch, holding a rudder in her left hand. Round the field is the inscription μεγάλη ἡ νεωτέρα ἡ ἀνείκητος. Cleopatra's popularity is well attested (see Tarn, Cambridge Ancient History X, 35–38), and her prestige as the last queen of Egypt probably accounts for the fact that a cult of Aphrodite-Cleopatra persisted even down to the time of Alexander Severus (Wilcken, Chrestomathie 115).

On this showing it is certainly possible that an otherwise unidentified Neotera text may refer to the popular cult of Cleopatra; her claim is as good as that of any Roman empress. Where the epithet νεωτέρα seems to belong to a goddess (other than Kore), it may be suggested that the identification of a royal personage with the goddess was so complete that the epithet came to be assigned to the goddess herself, her human associate receding into the background as time went on. Even at Dendera, where reliefs of Cleopatra and her son adorned the outside rear wall of the great temple, it is possible that the name Neotera originally belonged to Cleopatra and was gradually transferred to Hathor.

The Seyrig jasper is small enough to have been set in a ring, and ringstones and pendants were often inscribed with acclamations. (Peterson, op. cit., 204f., 208f.). Stones with such legends would be appropriate votive offerings, and it is worth noting that in P. Oxy. 1449, 12, the temple property of Neotera includes five rings.

Campbell Bonner
Arthur Darby Nock

[6] Svoronos, Νομίσματα τῶν Πτολεμαίων, I, 314, No. 1887; 316, No. 1897. Cf. now J. L. Tondriau, Bull. Soc. roy. arch. Alex. 37 [1948], 20f.

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